IMAGES OF WITCHCRAFT IN GERMAN ART FROM 1450 TO 1550

by

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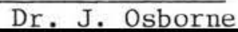
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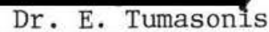
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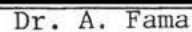
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ABSTRACT

Western Europe, in particular Germany, witnessed a savage persecution of so-called witches between 1450 and 1700. Prior to approximately 1450, ecclesiastical and secular authorities acknowledged the existence of witches but did not generally consider their presence a danger. At the close of the 15th century, this tolerant attitude held towards witches was reversed. Witchcraft became a fully inflamed threat to be exterminated. The witchcraft delusion gained in strength because it was systematized into a powerful, theological dogma. Writings such as the Papal Bull of Innocent VIII (1484) and the *Malleus Maleficarum* (1486) established that witches existed and engaged in harmful practices. The *Malleus* was considered the leading authority on witchcraft and largely shaped the European concept of witchcraft.

This thesis is concerned with the extent to which the *Malleus* influenced pictorial representations of witchcraft in German art 1450-1550. Images of witchcraft are examined in the art of Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), Hans Baldung Grien (1484/5-1545) and Lucas Cranach (1472-1553). These illustrations are found to be highly original with few artistic precedents. Close scrutiny of the *Malleus* reveals strong correlations between the treatise's text and illustrations of witchcraft studied. It is concluded that the images of witchcraft investigated, evolved in most cases from the artist's creative interpretation of the writings of demonologists, especially the *Malleus*. This iconographical approach serves a dual purpose of clarifying subsequent findings and contributing to our knowledge of the era's central witch beliefs.

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DEDICATED TO MY PARENTS

INTRODUCTION

> Writers on problems connected with magic are, as a rule, primarily concerned with psychology, sociology, history or theology. They tend to neglect aesthetics and are not often interested in art. Yet I believe that an aesthetic approach could sometimes throw a good deal of light on aspects of anthropology and the history of religion which have so far been discussed almost wholly in relation to ethics and the moral sciences. Witchcraft is a subject which particularly lends itself to investigation by scholars with an interest in art (and an interest in humour too, for that matter).[1]

Witchcraft, as the above quotation suggests, is a subject which has received considerable attention from scholars in the disciplines of psychology, sociology, history and theology. Few art historians however have seriously investigated the subject, despite the wealth of pictorial material pertaining to witchcraft which survives today. Yet the art historian can make a valuable contribution to unravelling some of the complexities of the subject and in accurately presenting witch beliefs which prevailed in Europe during the "witch-scare" (approximately 1450-1700). Furthermore, since much of the literature on this topic is speculative or concerns itself with sensationalism, a scholarly analysis of images of withcraft produced by artists living at the time of the "witch scare", serves to enhance our understanding of the growth, development and basic manifestations of European witchcraft.

This thesis is concerned with adding to our knowledge of "the growth, development and basic manifestations of European witchcraft", an objective which is accomplished through the examination and analysis of witchcraft images present in the art of Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), Hans Baldung Grien (1484/5-1545) and Lucas Cranach (1472-1553). However, the main goal of this thesis, and one which evolves out of a

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[1] J.C. Baroja, The World of Witches, (Chicago 1975), 216.

thorough study of the material in question, is to demonstrate that Dürer, Baldung Grien and Cranach essentially created the image of the witch in art; an image based, not upon earlier artistic models since few existed, but largely upon the artists' imaginative interpretation of the writings of demonologists, in particular the Malleus Maleficarum,[2] Hammer of Witches.

In order to achieve the aims outlined above, consideration is given in three chapters to Dürer's, Baldung Grien's and Cranach's treatment of the witchcraft image and how their illustrations reflect the teachings of demonologists. Between them, these three masters pictorially rendered all essential tenets of witchcraft identified and described by demonologists. Dürer's pictures convey an understanding of demonologists' thoughts on incubi, the "midwife witch" and "transvection". Baldung's work reveals a knowledge of the witches' sabbath and the witch as sexual deviant, and Cranach's illustrations demonstrate an awareness of lycanthropy and the mental ills caused by sorcery. Witchcraft pictures however, formed only a small part of the artists' repertoire. In Dürer's case, images of witchcraft are sometimes hidden (hence the chapter entitled "Possible Images of Witchcraft in the Art of Albrecht Dürer"), and by no means monopolize his work. Cranach's exploration of the subject is likewise limited. Only in the art of Hans Baldung Grien are such illustrations plentiful. Yet this factor should in no way diminish the following study. Dürer, Baldung Grien and Cranach, can be credited with initiating visual documentation of the era's witch beliefs. Moreover, the "phantasmagoria of occult details"[3] shaped by the above masters in conjunction with scholastic and judicial bodies, underwent few changes or additions during the 16th and 17th centuries.

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[2]H. Institor, J. Sprenger, Malleus Maleficarum, (London 1951). The Malleus will be discussed in detail shortly.

[3]H.C. Midelfort, Witch Hunting in Southwestern Germany 1562-1684. The Social and Intellectual Foundations, (California 1972), 30.

Before the main body of research is discussed, an historical introduction to the rise of witchcraft in Europe is provided, not only to place the topic in historical perspective but to introduce to the reader the importance of the Malleus in shaping the concept of European witchcraft and its subsequent influence on artists. My reasons for focusing upon images of witchcraft in German Art between 1450 and 1550 are also presented. A conclusion follows the three main chapters. This brings together and assesses the main findings of the research.

Belief in witches and superstitions has existed from remote times and did not die out with the advent of Christianity. Prior to the 12th century, these beliefs were treated with tolerance and even scepticism by ecclesiastics and theologians. The church regarded witches as a nuisance and encouraged disbelief in their practices. For example, in the 8th century, St. Boniface, the English apostle to Northern Germany and Frisia, announced that belief in witches and werewolves was unworthy of a Christian.[4] Also in the 8th century, Charlemagne denounced as pagan the practice of burning so-called witches. He furthermore ordered the death penalty for those caught burning witches in Saxony.[5] A century later St. Agobard, Bishop of Lyon, proposed that witches were incapable of creating foul weather, and another ecclesiastic of unknown identity argued that the witches' flight and metamorphosis were illusions.[6] The very existence of witches was denied by King Coloman of Hungary in the 11th century and in the 12th century John of Salisbury regarded the notion of the witches' sabbath as a mere dream.[7] One of the first

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[4] H.R. Trevor-Roper, The European Witch-craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and Other Essays, (New York 1969), 92.

[5] Ibid., 92.

[6] Ibid., 92.

[7] H.C. Lea, Materials toward a History of Witchcraft, (New York), 1957, I, 172.

documents to present the essence of these views in writing was the Canon Episcopi, which became part of canon law by the 12th century.[8] During the next three hundred years, however, this attitude of disbelief held by the church towards witchcraft was gradually reversed. Scepticism was replaced by an acknowledgement of the reality of witchcraft with all its dangers, and tolerance was routed by intolerance. Witchcraft came to be seen as a force to be eradicated at all costs.[9]

Early pioneers in establishing the belief in witchcraft as a real and imminent danger include Alphonsus de Spina (? - 1469), a Spanish theologian, and Johannes Nider (c.1380-1438), a Dominican professor of theology. Alphonsus de Spina wrote the first book ever printed on witchcraft - Fortalicum Fidei (Fortress of Faith)[10] and Johannes Nider the second - Formicarius (The Anthill).[11] These two manuscripts, published in 1467 and 1475 respectively, which dwell in particular upon the maleficent powers of witches, were instrumental in augmenting the general acceptance and fear of witchcraft. This growing anxiety in the face of a powerful and prevalent witch organization is clearly expressed in the Papal Bull of Innocent VIII, issued in 1484.

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[8] Canon Episcopi cited in A.C. Kors and E. Peters, Witchcraft in Europe 1100-1700 A Documentary History, (London 1973), 29-31.

[9] How and why this reversal took place is not part of this thesis. Stimulating and interesting insights into such questions are provided in the literature by H.R. Trevor-Roper, J.C. Baroja and H.C. Erik Midelfort (see bibliography).

[10] Fortalicum Fidei - extracts discussed in Lea, Materials, I, 285-292.

[11] Formicarius - extracts discussed in Ibid., 260-265.

> ...It has indeed come lately to Our ears, not without afflicting us with bitter sorrow, that in some parts of Northern Germany, as well as in the provinces, townships, territories, districts and dioceses of Mainz, Cologne, Trèves, Salzburg, and Bremen, many persons of both sexes, unmindful of their own salvation and straying from the Catholic Faith, have abandoned themselves to devils, incubi and succubi, and by their incantations, spells, conjurations, and other accursed charms and crafts, enormities and horrid offences, have slain infants yet in the mother's womb, as also the offspring of cattle, have blasted the produce of the earth, the grapes of the vine, the fruits of the trees, nay, men and women, beasts of burthen, herd-beasts, as well as animals of other kinds, with terrible and piteous pains and sore diseases, both internal and external; they hinder men from performing the sexual act and women from conceiving, whence husbands cannot know their wives nor wives receive their husbands; over and above this they blasphemously renounce that Faith which is theirs by the sacrament of Baptism, and at the instigation of the enemy of Mankind they do not shrink from committing and perpetrating the foulest abominations and filthiest excesses to the deadly peril of their own souls, whereby they outrage the divine majesty and are a cause of scandal and danger to very many.[12]

In order to combat this witchcraft epidemic in Northern Germany, the pontiff assigned two Dominion inquisitors, Heinrich Institor, Prior of Cologne (c. 1430-1505) and James Sprenger (1437-1495), Dean of Cologne University, the task of identifying, rooting out and exterminating the wickedness. Taking literally the injunction in Chapter XXll, verse 18 of the Book of Exodus, "thou shall not suffer a witch to live", Institor and Sprenger spent two years preparing their attack against witchcraft which manifested itself in 1486 in a horrifying, misogynistic treatise entitled Malleus Maleficarum (Witches' Hammer). Fully sanctioned by the papacy (the Papal Bull of 1484 prefaced the volume), the Malleus became the leading authority on witchcraft for the next two centuries. Essentially, the Malleus is a "how-to" book for witch hunters. It describes in detail the nature of witchcraft and its practitioners. Procedures for trying witches are also discussed and advice

[12] H. Institor, J. Sprenger, Malleus Maleficarum, (London 1951), XIX.

given on extracting confessions. Fashioning their concept of witchcraft from a combination of local superstitions, heretical beliefs, Celtic and Germanic folklore and biblical and patristic writings on the question of evil, the inquisition formulated the following definition of a witch. A witch is someone who denounces the Catholic Faith, devotes "themselves body and soul to all evil"; offers up "unbaptised children to Satan"; indulges in "every kind of carnal lust with Incubi and Succubi and all manner of filthy delights".[13] The Malleus further elaborates on the "filthy delights" of witches. Attending sabbaths, hurting and killing men and animals, and causing storms are a few of their pastimes. Exhaustive, convoluted accounts of "transvection"[14] and metamorphosis are also provided. In short, the Malleus Maleficarum became the first encyclopaedia of witch beliefs.

Profiting from the recent development of the printing press, fourteen editions were dispensed from French, Italian and German presses between 1487 and 1520.[15] The Malleus instantly became the main authority on witches' affairs and not surprisingly the documented behaviour appeared all over Europe and indeed provided the artist with information on the subject. When the Malleus was first published, its title page bore the words:

Haeresis est maxima opera maleficarum non credere.[16]

Thus to express disbelief in witchcraft was virtually taken as an admission of being a witch. With these formidable words introducing the Malleus, the witch mythology was set in motion. Once launched, the mythology built up its own momentum. Confessions forced from suspected witches under torture supplied fresh material for the witch hunters and

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[13] Institor, Sprenger, Malleus, 20-21. Incubi and Succubi are male and female devils intent on seducing mortals.

[14] A term used by demonologists to describe the witches' flight.

[15] J.B. Russell, A History of Witchcraft, Sorcerers, Heretics and Pagans, (London 1980), 79.

[16] Trevor-Roper, European Witch Craze, 117, Translation: To disbelieve in witchcraft is the greatest of heresies.

any sceptics were soon silenced.[17] The witchcraft mania gained in strength because it was given a bizarre but coherent intellectual force. Credulity amongst those in positions of authority increased; many Renaissance popes, leaders of the Protestant Reformation, scholars, magistrates and churchmen believed in the existence of witches and publicized their views in writing.[18] The steady production of inflammatory manuscripts further disseminated the delusion and helped establish and consolidate the standard characteristics. Artists too, contributed to the frenzy, by visually communicating the beliefs of "witchologists" to a wider, illiterate audience.

Since witchcraft as a developed concept emerged in the late 15th century, visual representatives of witchcraft before 1450 are extremely rare. Around 1500, witchcraft illustrations begin to appear, particularly in German art. Hence the author's choice to concentrate upon and explore images of witchcraft in the work of German artists. Given that Germany was the birthplace of "organized witchcraft", the home of esteemed inquisitors and prominent authors on witchcraft and the country which appeared to harbour the most witches in Europe,[19] it is not surprising to find German artists among the first to express an interest in witchcraft.

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[17] The precise number of those who perished during the "witch-craze" in Europe is not known. In Germany alone, the figure was in excess of 100,000 (see Appendix I for a list of notable witch-trials conducted in Germany between 1450 and 1550).

[18] See Appendix II for table of witch treatises written between 1435 and 1550. Basically all manuals produced after 1486 repeat and enlarge upon the fantasies of Institor and Sprenger.

[19] R. Hope Robbins, The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology, (London 1964), 220.

CHAPTER ONE

POSSIBLE IMAGES OF WITCHCRAFT IN THE ART OF ALBRECHT DÜRER (1471-1528)

> The North, however has the capacity to enter into the spirit of that which lies both behind and beyond objective form, and to be transported from the well defined to the undefined.[1]

German art during the first half of the 16th century, the period in which the initial social and political upheavals of the Reformation were taking place, entered a particularly productive and creative phase in its history.[2] The unique, varied creations of such artists as Dürer, Altdorfer (1480-1538), Baldung Grien, Cranach and Grünewald (1460-1528), contrast strikingly with the uniformity and parochialism of works produced by local German schools in the late 15th century. The diversity of German art in the 16th century was due in part to the different levels of receptivity of artists to outside artistic currents. The innovations and developments of the Italian Renaissance had penetrated north of the Alps and were available to German artists for assimilation and absorption. Dürer in particular was receptive to the Italian influence and many of his works reflect his interest in and study of Italianate forms and ideals.[3] However, artists like Altdorfer, Baldung-Grien, Cranach and Grünewald chose to shun Renaissance innovations. They were more concerned with interpreting the world in a

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[1]H. Wölfflin, The Sense of Form in Art A Comparative Psychological Study, (New York 1958), 23-24.

[2]The idea of Germany as a nation did not exist during Dürer's lifetime. Instead Dürer's Germany was comprised of approximately three hundred states and free cities, which were located within the boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire. In theory the State owed allegience to the Emperor but in practice each individual state governed itself under the leadership of a powerful noble.

[3]Dürer travelled twice to Italy, in 1494 and 1505, to study Italian art at first hand.

mystical, essentially medieval mode. Many of their works are characterized by the Northern concern to capture the essence or spirit of a subject. Even Dürer, despite his preoccupation with the Italian Renaissance and Antiquity, did not neglect this aspect of his Northern heritage. Indeed on no occasion was Dürer guilty of sacrificing "German art to Italian art".[4] He merely borrowed and adapted whatever he thought necessary from Italian art "without letting himself be driven from his native soil in which his imagination was rooted."[5] Bearing in mind the interest of German artists in the inner meaning of a subject, it is fascinating to examine the complexities of the witchcraft image, as it appears in the art of Dürer, Baldung-Grien and Cranach.

Albrecht Dürer, painter, etcher, woodcut designer, inventor and theoretician, was born in Nuremberg[6] on May 21, 1471, the son of a Hungarian goldsmith. During the course of his life, Dürer became one of the most cultured men in Europe. He achieved this position through his "indefatigable study of books, his travels, his own reflections, his intercourse with distinguished men in every walk of life...".[7] However, Dürer was also a product of his age. Despite his extensive studies and his critical examinations of life around him, he could not fully escape the deep and widespread uneasiness of his time.[8] He too, was susceptible to the superstitions and witch-

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[4] Wölfflin, The Sense of Form, 17.

[5] Ibid., 17.

[6] The following books provide the most valuable and scholarly introductions to the life, times and art of Albrecht Dürer: E. Panofsky, The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer (New Jersey 1955); W. Waetzoldt, Dürer and His Times, (London 1950). H.Wölfflin, The Art of Albrecht Dürer (London 1971).

[7] Waetzoldt, Dürer, 59.

[8] Germany in the age of Dürer was in the midst of social and political turmoil. A series of plagues (1494, 1505), followed by poor harvests, demoralized the German people. Wars both internal and external increased the misery of many. Within Germany, territorial wars were being fought between powerful German families, for example the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg and the Wittelsbachs of Bavaria. Outside the bounds of the Holy Roman Empire, the Turks were consolidating their victories in the expansion westwards. The Moslems had captured Belgrade and were threatening to attack the Empire.

craft fears, which caused so much alarm among the populace of Germany in the 16th century. Dürer's dread of an impending apocalypse is attested to in his writings and woodcuts, as is his unquestioned belief in miracles. For example, he reports with conviction that in 1503 he witnessed the spectacle of crosses falling like rain from the sky:

> The greatest miracle which ever I have seen happened in the year 1503, when crosses rained down on many people, on children more than on other people.[9]

Later on, in 1525, he records in his notebook details of a nightmare-vision which terrorized him one night. He dreamt that the heavens deluged the earth with water.

> In the night between Wednesday and Thursday after Whitsunday, I saw this appearance in my sleep - how many great waters fell from heaven. The first struck the earth about four miles away from me with terrific force and tremendous noise, and it broke up and drowned the whole land. I was sore afraid that I awoke from it. Then the other waters fell, and as they fell they were very powerful and there were many of them, some further away, some nearer. And they came down from so great a height that they all seemed to fall with an equal slowness. But when the first water that touched the earth had very nearly reached it, it fell with such swiftness with wind and roaring, and I was so sore afraid that when I awoke my whole body trembled and for a long while I could not recover myself.[10]

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[9] O. Benesch, The Art of the Renaissance in Northern Europe. Its Relation to the Contemporary Spiritual and Intellectual Movements, (London 1965), 6.

[10] Ibid., 7. A close scrutiny of this paragraph reveals that the event of the deluge was both a dream and a "vision" in the artist's mind. Dürer states that the first deluge of water awoke him from his sleep. Once awake he witnessed further downpours.

However, it is in the account of the death of his mother that he verifies his belief in the existence of a demonic world.

> She feared Death much, but she said that to come before God she feared not. Also she died hard, and I marked that she saw something dreadful, for she asked for the holy-water, although for a long time she had not spoken. Immediately afterwards her eyes closed over.[11]

Dürer's suggestion that his mother "saw something dreadful" is indicative of the artist's belief in supernatural occurrences and prepares us for the grotesque, fantastic and witch-like images which appear in particular in his graphic art.

Dürer first depicted a scene with possible witchcraft connotations in a copper plate engraving of about 1494/1495 (illustration 1, Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago). The correct title of the engraving is unknown although scholars have variously identified it as "Young Woman Attacked by Death",[12] "The Ravisher",[13] "Death (the Incubus)",[14] and "The Wild Man".[15] Unfortunately the scroll above the couple's head which may once have contained an illuminating inscription is completely bare. The subject and content of the painting are therefore open to speculation and an examination of various suggestions put forward to identify the engraving may prove enlightening.

Certain scholars, for example Walter L. Strauss, are of the opinion that the subject of the engraving is Death attacking a young

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[11] The Writings of Albrecht Dürer, ed. W.M. Conway, (New York 1958), 78.

[12] The Complete Engravings, Etchings and Drypoints of Albrecht Dürer. ed. W.L. Strauss (New York 1972), 5.

[13] N. Lambourne, Albrecht Dürer Paintings, Drawings, Prints, (London 1969), plate 18.

[14] Waetzoldt, Dürer, 385.
M. Brion, Dürer His Life and Work, (New York 1960), 137. Unlike Waetzoldt, Brion refers to Dürer's engraving as "the Incubus", without justifying to the reader his reasons for this choice of title. Indeed Brion makes no reference to the fact that a controversy of any sort surrounds the identity of the engraving.

[15] J. Wirth, La Jeune Fille et la Mort. Recherches sur les thèmes macabres dans l'art germanique de la Renaissance, (Geneva 1979), 37.

woman.[16] This opinion appears to make sense given the cadaverous appearance of the man and the medieval obsession with Death and the macabre. Nightmarish images of Death are frequently found in the late medieval European art. Themes such as "the Dance of Death", "the Three Living and the Three Dead", "the Triumph of Death" and "Death preying on mortals" were an established part of an artist's repertoire.[17] Interest in such themes, particularly among the German artists, continued well into the 16th century, as confirmed by the numerous representations of Death which occur in the work of Niklaus Manuel-Deutsch (c.1484-1530), Hans Leu (c.1490-1531) and Hans Holbein (1497/8-1543). Dürer shared with his contemporaries the fascination with death and periodically explored the theme in his graphic art. The figure of Death features unquestionably in the following works by Dürer (illustrations 2a, b, c, d, e). "Horseman Assailed by Death" (Institut Städel, Frankfurt), "King Death on Horseback" (British Museum, London), "Death and a Woman at an Open Grave"[18] (Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen, Rotterdam), "Young Couple Threatened by Death" (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin-West) and "Knight, Death and Devil (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin-West). The first three examples cited are drawings, of which only "King Death on Horseback" has been assigned a date, that of 1505. The remaining works are engravings dated 1496 and 1513 respectively. If one compares the image of Death as he appears in the above illustrations with that of Death (?) in the engraving central to our discussion, some interesting observations can be noted, observations which prompt one to question whether the man in the copperplate engraving really is Death.

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[16] Dürer, ed. W.L. Strauss, 5.

[17] See for example the work of the Housebook Master, Master of Mary of Burgundy and Master BR (all late 15th century artists) for illustrations of these themes. Relevant illustrations can be found in Wirth, La Jeune Fille et la Mort, figures 1-14.

[18] This sketch is generally attributed to Dürer. However there is no conclusive evidence to support this attribution. For details concerning the controversy which surrounds the authorship of this drawing see The Complete Engravings, Etchings and Drypoints of Albrecht Dürer, ed. W.L. Strauss (New York 1974), 111, 1248.

As a rule, death is easy to identify in Northern art of the 15th and 16th centuries. Almost without exception Death appears as a skeleton or in a highly decomposed state. He is also identifiable by the instruments of his profession, the scythe, skull and hour glass, with which he menaces victims. Dürer's renderings of Death in the illustrations listed, conform well with the established conception of Death. The same cannot be said of the man depicted in the copperplate engraving, the focus of our inquiry. He is emaciated but not skeletal. Furthermore the trademarks of Death are noticeably absent from the scene. However the possibility that this man represents Death cannot be discounted. The revolting man in Durer's engraving is portrayed in the throes of ravishing his victim. Death was also considered a ravisher of women and there are several contemporary illustrations of Death molesting females to support this statement.[19] Indeed, it has been proposed that the subject of Dürer's engraving is "The Ravisher".[20] The identity of the man as a ravisher can hardly be disputed but the question concerning the precise nature of the ravisher remains to be answered. Lambourne suggests the ravisher in Dürer's engraving is an assailant from the living world rather than one from the grave. He proposes that the activities of a rapist in Nuremburg at the time may have inspired Dürer to execute the engraving.[21] There is no concrete evidence to support this theory. Moreover the haggard and devilish appearance of the man suggests he originated from a supernatural rather than human source.

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[19] Niklaus Manuel Deutsch (c.1484-1530) explored the theme of Death as ravisher in the following two works, executed approximately 1517. "Woman and Death" (Museum of Art, Basle) and "Woman and Death" (Notebook of sketches, Museum of Art, Basle). For illustrations of these works see Wirth, La Jeune Fille et la Mort, figures 69-71.

[20] Lambourne, Durer, 4.

[21] Ibid., 4.

Waetzoldt focuses on the Satanic appearance of the attacker with his "cloven" foot, to substantiate his argument that the hideous man represents not Death but an incubus.[22]

> ...the repulsive lover, looking like a depraved tramp, grabbing the girl with his clawlike hand, is, as Allihn rightly surmises[23] not death, but an "incubus", ie the devil in human shape seeking carnal intercourse. The cloven foot of the nude old man betrays his satanic origin.[24]

The subject of incubi and succubi was topical in Germany around 1493-1494, when Dürer executed the controversial engraving. The Malleus which appeared in Nuremberg in 1494,[25] from the printing shop of Dürer's godfather Koberger, contains several chapters describing the realities and dangers of incubus and succubus devils.[26] Recommendations are made in the manual of how to rid oneself of such tormentors.[27] The Malleus stresses that incubi usually copulated with compliant witches. This concept is clearly demonstrated in one of the woodcuts which illustrated a German tract against witches (illustration 3). The tract was published at Ulm around 1490.[28] In the woodcut, the

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[22] In the opinion of many church fathers, incubi were the fallen angels banished from heaven on account of their lustful desires for women. As an incubus was not considered to be human, sexual intercourse with such a creature was viewed as bestiality and therefore a most abhorrent sin. The dangers of incubi and succubi were first brought to the attention of the German public in the Papal Bull of Pope Innocent VIII promulgated on December 9th 1484. The dangers of incubi and succubi are then discussed in the Malleus and the theory is put forward that they are partially responsible for creating witches. Demonologists active in the late 15th century, for example, Nider, Jacquier, Alphonso, Visconti, Mamoris, Vignate, Bernard of Como, Raphael, Vineti, Martin of Arles, and Jordanes, all believed incubi to be a very real threat. (See appendix II.)

[23] M. Allihn, Dürer-Studien, Leipzig 1871), 50.

[24] Waetzoldt, Dürer, 48.

[25] Ibid., 48.

[26] Institor, Sprenger, Malleus, 21-28, "whether children can be Generated by Incubi and Succubi". 28-31, "By which Devils are the Operations of Incubus and Succubus Practised". 109-114, "Here follows the way whereby Witches Copulate with these Devils known as Incubi."

[27] Ibid., 164.

[28] H. Biederman, Hexen (Graz 1974), 41.

witch is seen to accept with grace the advances of the devil. The devil is easily identified by his cloven hooves and the tail which dangles from beneath his tunic. Although the Malleus emphasizes that incubi favoured copulation with witches, virtuous women were also subject to molestation.[29] It is possible therefore that the woman in Dürer's engraving is attempting to escape from the clutches of an incubus. Waetzoldt certainly believes this to be the case. Yet his argument demands close scrutiny. Waetzoldt identifies the man as an incubus almost solely on the grounds of his cloven foot. Close examination of the man's left foot reveals it to be misshapen but not necessarily cloven. Until the creature's foot is proved without a question of a doubt to be cloven, an almost impossible task, the theory of the incubus remains speculative.

There remains one final interpretation of Dürer's copperplate engraving which deserves consideration. Wirth holds the opinion that the subject of the engraving is a "wild man" attacking a woman.[30] Wirth uses the term "wild man" to describe the creature, not in a general sense but as an "artistic type". The "wild man" is a "literary and artistic figure,"[31] a creation assembled from a multitude of legends, beliefs and practices, too numerous to be given adequate coverage in this thesis.[32] The frequent appearance of the "wild man"

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[29] Institor, Sprenger, Malleus, 114. "That Incubus Devils do not infest only those Women that have been Begotten by their Filthy Deeds or those who have been Offered to them by Midwives, but All Indifferently with Greater or Less Venereal Delectation." 164, "Thirdly, it may happen that men or women are by witchraft entangled with Incubi or Succubi against their will. This chiefly happens in the case of certain virgins who are molested by Incubus Devils wholly against their will; and it would seem that such are bewitched by witches who, just as they very often cause other infirmities, cause devils to molest such Virgins in the form of Incubi for the purpose of seducing them into joining their vile Company."

[30] Wirth, La Jeune Fille et la Mort, 37.

[31] R. Bernheimer, Wild Men in the Middle Ages. A Study in Art, Sentiment and Demonology, (London 1952, 1.

[32] Bernheimer in his book Wild Men in the Middle Ages provides a well-documented account of the origins, development and significance of the "wild man" in the Middle Ages. The changing image of the "wild man" is examined as it is reflected in the art, literature, mythology and history of the period.

in medieval art and literature is indicative of the popularity accorded to this character. Bernheimer comments upon the extent of his appearance in medieval art.

> The whole vast field of medieval secular art is his playground, from prints and paintings by Albrecht Dürer and Pieter Brueghel to the love caskets and tapestries which medieval swains presented to their ladies, or the tools of chivalry, such as saddles and ornamented weapons. His place in medieval daily life was assured by the appearance of his image on stove tiles, candlesticks, and drinking cups, and, on a larger scale, on house signs, chimneys, and the projecting beams of frame houses. His figure even invaded religious buildings and liturgical books, being found on the borders of illuminated manuscripts, on capitals, choir stalls, baptismal fonts, tomb plates, and as a gargoyle on the eaves of churches.[33]

It is apparent from this extract that Dürer would have been familiar with the subject of the "wild man". Indeed the "wild man" features in a painting, an engraving and in two drawings attributed to the German master (illustrations 4a,b,c,d). It is interesting that in all four illustrations, the "wild man" is depicted in the role of shield bearer.[34] Dürer's "wild men" in the illustrations cited are easy to identify as such because they exhibit one or more salient characteristics attributed to "wild men" in the Middle Ages. The distinguishing traits of a medieval "wild man" are described as follows:

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[33] Ibid., 2.

[34] According to Bernheimer, it was in the late 14th century that the "wild man" made his debut as shield supporter.[A] He appeared initially in this manner on seals and in the margins of illuminated manuscripts. It then became the fashion amongst prominent European families to have a wild man supporting their coat of arms. The purpose of incorporating the motif in this context was probably talismanic.[B] The "wild man" was well known for his strength and was therefore a suitable candidate to guard and protect the family honour. The wild man as shield supporter increased in popularity during the 15th century and the design "found its way into the most diverse media of art."[C] At the close of the 15th century, illustrations of "wild men" supporting escutcheons were common.

A Ibid., 179.

B Ibid., 177-178.

C Ibid., 179.

> It is a hairy man curiously compounded of human and animal traits, without, however, sinking to the level of an ape. It exhibits upon its naked human anatomy a growth of fur, leaving bare only its face, feet and hands, at times its knees and elbows, or the breasts of a female of the species. Frequently the creature is shown wielding a heavy club or mace, or the trunk of a tree; and since its body is usually naked except for a shaggy covering, it may hide its nudity under a strand of twisted foliage worn around the loins.[35]

Unlike the "wild men" in Durer's drawings (and contemporary representations of "wild men", illustrations 5a,b,c), the figure in the problematic engraving differs markedly in appearance from the above description of a "wild man". In Durer's engraving, the creature is hairless except for a beard and tufts of hair which sprout from his skull. Although foliage surrounds the creature, it cannot be said to form part of his attire. Moreover, he is not brandishing a club. Medieval authorities were in general agreement that the "wild man" lived in remote places, far from civilization.[36] The 14th century author Heinrich von Hesler for example, informs us that the "wild man" dwelt *"in bruchen und in walden in wazzeren und in bergen, in holn und in kruten"*.[37] Durer's creature does not inhabit this type of lair. Signs of civilization are all around him. The creature is seated on a bench and a town is visible in the distance. From the information gathered so far, the "wild man" and the character in Durer's engraving appear to have little in common. However they do share one important characteristic: lasciviousness. The lecherous nature of the monster in the engraving, who tugs at the skirt of his victim, is quite apparent. The "wild man" was also notorious for his lustful activities.

> ...in the Middle Ages the wild man's inability to control his sexual passions was regarded as an essential part of his primitive personality.[38]

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[35] Ibid., 1.

[36] Ibid., 10.

[37] Ibid., 10. Translation: in quarries and in forests, in water and in mountains, in holes and in shrubbery.

[38] Ibid., 34.

The question concerning the identity of the man in Dürer's picture therefore remains to be answered. Is it Death, a ravisher, an incubus or a "wild man'? It has been demonstrated that Dürer's creature resembles all four individuals, but not one in particular. The artist appears to have synthesized and distilled several areas of thought associated with various sinister characters (of whom one may be an incubus) to create a demonic personage of his own.

An equally equivocal engraving produced by Dürer in 1497 which may belong to the twilight world of death, magic and witchcraft, is that known as the "Four Witches" (illustration 6, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). Although the title the "Four Witches" is generally utilized by scholars to identify the engraving, the precise subject matter of the picture has yet to be satisfactorily deciphered. Joachim Von Sandrart, writing in the 17th century, was the first scholar to offer the interpretation that the four women in the engraving were witches,[39] a theory which has remained popular with scholars until the present day.* However, the "Four Witches" has continued to provoke the curiosity of art historians who have sought a more complete understanding of the sources and nuances of the work. Their research has produced some surprising results, results which imply that there may be more than one valid interpretation of the scene.* Dwyer for example introduces the possibility that the subject of Dürer's engraving is simultaneously "The Four Seasons", "The Four Temperaments" and "The Four Elements".[40] A second scholar, Jessie Poesch, argues convincingly that the subject matter of the picture is essentially a synthesis of Venus and the Three Graces and the Choice of Paris.[41] Again

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[39] J. Von Sandrart, Academie der Bau-Bild-und-Malerey von 1675. Leben der berühmter Maler, Bildhauer und Baumeister,(Munich 1925), 63.

[40] E. Dwyer, "The Subject of Durer's Four Witches", Art Quarterly XXXIV (1971), 456-473.

[41] J. Poesch, "Sources for Two Dürer Enigmas. The Four Naked Women or the Choice of Paris", Art Bulletin, XXXXVI (1964), 78-82.

it is only through examining each of the theories in turn that we can hope to increase our comprehension of the work and ultimately to assess whether indeed the engraving documents some aspect of a witch's ritual.

At first glance, the activity taking place in the engraving is certainly mysterious. Four naked women stand in a group facing each other. Above their heads is a curious round object resembling a "fruit". The segmented "fruit" bears the enigmatic initials O.G.H. The setting for this gathering of women is ambiguous. The four women conduct their business in a room with a split-level floor and two open doorways which lead off to the right and left. Dwyer describes the interior as a "vestibule", despite the lack of features which would distinguish it as a hall.[42] The infernal nature of the setting is implied by the appearance of a fiend surrounded by flames who peers in through the left doorway, and by the presence of a human skull and thigh bone at the feet of the women. The women themselves are differentiated by the composition of their flesh and their head-dresses. The central figure in the foreground wears a garland around her head. The garland is believed to be composed of myrtle.[43] The woman nearest to the left doorway wears an elaborate pointed coif, while her neighbour is attired in a plain cloth turban. The remaining female has her hair wrapped in a long cloth which also twines around her torso. The general arrangement of the group is circular, even though two of the women stand on different levels from their companions. The group also appears to be moving in a clockwise direction, but the exact activity taking place is hidden from our view. All we can ascertain from a visual examination of the engraving is that at least three of the women are engaged in some task using their right hands. From this basic description of the picture, three important questions arise which require answers. Firstly, who are these four women? Secondly,

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[42] Dwyer, "Dürer's Four Witches", 456.

[43] Poesch, "Two Dürer Enigmas", 78. Experts in Natural History at the British Museum were shown this engraving and they ventured that the wreath is probably composed of myrtle.

what event is taking place? And finally what is the meaning behind initials O.G.H.?

Joachim Von Sandrart, one of the first art historians to give these questions serious consideration, arrived at the conclusion that the four women were witches performing some diabolic routine.[44] That being the case, he suggested that the letters O.G.H. might stand for *"O Gott hüte uns von Zaubereyen"* (O God guard us against witches).[45] Sandrart took the women to be witches because they were accompanied by a skull, a thigh bone, a hellish opening and the face of a Devil.[46] Such reasoning is arguably vague and lacks documentation. However, the germ of the idea was soon to be developed in 1876 by Moritz Thausing.

Thausing agreed with Sandrart that the four women were witches.[47] He developed this theory by pointing out a close resemblance between the action taking place in the engraving and an incident cited in the Malleus. A summary of the event is as follows. A young pregnant woman from Zabern engaged a midwife to assist with the birth. The midwife however, had a bad reputation and she was dismissed before the child was born. Another midwife was then hired. Unfortunately the first midwife, who was a witch, sought revenge for her dismissal.[48] One

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[44]Von Sandrart, Academie der Bau-Bild, 63.

[45]Ibid., 63.

[46]Ibid. 63

[47]M. Thausing, Dürer, Geschichte seines Lebens und Seiner Kunst (Leipzig 1876), 162, 165.

[48]The whole issue of midwives being prone to devilish deeds and witchcraft in the late Middle Ages is quite fascinating. Midwives in Europe were held in low esteem throughout the 15th, 16th and even 17th centuries. As there was no formal training available to midwives during this period, they tended to bring "to the delivery ...a blend of hearsay, empiricism, and superstition."[A] They were paid a miserable wage and were considered to belong to the meanest of the professions. In Bavaria, the status of midwives fell below that of knacker, executioner and barber. Occasionally the son of a midwife would be barred from entering a trade guild "because of his mother's occupation."[B] It was only a matter of time before

night, the witch entered the bedroom of the pregnant woman with two accomplices in order to execute her plan of revenge. The witch touched the victim's stomach with her hands and put something into the latter's entrails.[49] The following curse was then pronounced:

> She will not feel any pain for half a year, but after that time she shall be tortured enough.[50]

After six months had elapsed, the poor woman suffered dire physical discomfiture as predicted by the witch. Certainly the action in Dürer's picture corresponds well with the excerpt from the Malleus. Thausing therefore surmised that the letters O.G.H. were an abbreviation for the phrase *Obsidium Generis Humani* (ambush against the human race).[51] However, there is one discrepancy between the text and the illustration, which was noted by Erwin Panofsky.[52] In the engraving, the young mother appears to be an "accomplice" to the group[53] rather than the frightened recipient of the witches' machinations. Panofsky then introduces a further dimension to the argument by proferring the suggestion that the woman with the myrtle

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the impoverished, despised and frequently ignorant midwife became a scapegoat for the witch hunters. In 1484, a priest from Breslau intensified the growing mistrust of midwives by announcing that "in childbirth the midwives are concerned with a thousand devilish things as well as with women in travail."[C] Two years later, the authors of the Malleus blatantly accused midwives of performing abortions and offering unbaptized children to Satan.

> That witches who are Midwives in Various Ways Kill the Child Conceived in the Womb, and Procure an Abortion; or if they do not this Offer New-born Children to Devils.[D]

T. Forbes, "Midwifery and Witchcraft," Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences XVIII (1962), 264-281.

A. Ibid., 264, B. Ibid., 264, C. Ibid., 274, D. Institor, Sprenger, Malleus, 66.

[49] Ibid., 140.

[50] Ibid., 40.

[51] Thausing, Dürer, 220.

[52] Panofsky, Dürer, 71.

[53] Ibid., 71.

garland "may in fact be a young witch wanting to get rid of a Devil's child".[54] This proposal is quite feasible, when we learn that witches frequently, in their capacity as midwives, were believed to possess the power to "Kill the Child Conceived in the Womb and Procure an Abortion."[55]

The hypothesis about four witches has remained popular with scholars throughout the years. Even Eugene Dwyer, who proposes in a recent article that the figures might represent simultaneously the "four seasons", the "four temperaments" and the "four elements", acknowledges that the "traditional identification of the figures as four witches is equally correct - and remains the most comprehensive".[56] Dwyer is therefore careful not to commit himself to any one reading of the engraving but offers a variety of possible interpretations.[57] One of the most innovative of Dwyer's theories is that the four females represent essentially the four seasons. He commences his discussion of the proposal by drawing our attention to a woodcut which Dürer executed for the humanist poet, Conrad Celtes (1459-1508),[58](illustration 7, Kupfestichkabinett, Berlin (West). The subject of Durer's woodcut is Lady Philosophy. Philosophy is personified as a woman holding books in one hand and a sceptre in the other. She wears a gown decorated with a ribbon on which are marked several letters from the Greek alphabet. The artist's

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[54] Ibid., 71.

[55] Institor, Sprenger, Malleus, 66. See also note 48, page 20 of this thesis.

[56] Dwyer, "Dürer's Four Witches", 470.

[57] In his article entitled "Dürer's Four Witches", Dwyer also briefly discusses the possibility that the four women may represent either the "three Fates and Discord" or "the Naiads".

[58] The woodcut was one of a series of eleven woodcuts which illustrated the book Quattuor Libri Amorum, written by Conrad Celtes. The central theme of Quattuor Libri Amorum is how love is the main unifying component of the universe.

rendering of Lady Philosophy therefore corresponds well with the vision of the same as described by Boethius (c.480-524) in his Consolation of Philosphy.

> methought I sawe a woman stand higher than my head, having a grave countenance, glistering cleare eyes, and of quicker sight than Commonly Nature doth afford ...her garments were made of most fine threads, with cunning workmanship, and of an everduring stuffe,.... In the lower part of them was placed the letter π, and in the upper θ,[59] and betwixt the two letters, in the manner of stairs, there were certain degrees made, by which there was a passage from the lower to the higher letter:....In her right hand she had certain books, and in her left hand she held a scepter.[60]

Lady Philosophy in the Celtes woodcut is surrounded by a garland comprised of four different types of plants. The different plants are separated by four medallions. Each of the medallions contains the bust of a philosopher. Beginning with the topmost figure and continuing in a clockwise direction, the philosophers depicted are Ptolemaeus, Plato, Cicero and Virgil (one figure) and Albertus. In the four corners of the woodcut are heads of men in various states of maturity. They represent the four winds as indicated by the gusts of air issuing from their mouths and the accompanying inscriptions. The inscriptions include not only the title of the wind but also the name of the temperament and element which

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[59] In Dürer's woodcut, a phi (located above the artist's monogram) replaces the pi referred to in Boethius's description of the dress of Philosophy. This change in lettering may be due to a mistake in translation.

[60] The Consolation of Philosophy, ed. A. William (Arundel 1963), 28. The Consolation was translated into German in the 10th Century by Notker of St. Gall. As a "man of learning" Dürer was almost certainly familiar with Boethius's Consolation. Courses on Boethius's Consolation were offered in German universities from the 15th century onwards. At Erfurt University in 1412 for example, a four month course on the Consolation was available to the students.

are commonly associated with it. Commencing with the details in the upper right section and "reading from right to left", the arrangement is as follows:

	I	II	III	IV
Wind:	Zephyrus	Eurus	Auster	Boreas
Garland:	myrtle	grapes	ranunculus	holly
Element:	air	fire	water	earth
Temperament:	sanguine	choleric	phlegmatic	melancholy
Season:	Spring	Summer	Autumn	Winter
Age:	youth	maturity	middle age	old age[61]

The importance of this woodcut in helping to unravel the possible meaning of Dürer's engraving is then clarified. Dwyer identifies the woman in Dürer's picture with her back to us as "Spring" because she is wearing a garland of myrtle.[62] In the woodcut executed for Conrad Celtes, myrtle decorates the division devoted to Spring. The female facing Spring in the "Four Witches" is believed by Dwyer to represent

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[61] Dwyer, "Dürer's Four Witches", 460.

[62] Throughout the ages myrtle, has been linked with a diverse range of characters, events and places. The symbolism of the myrtle is multi-faceted. In Greek mythology, myrtle was considered sacred to the goddess of love, Aphrodite. Similarly in Roman mythology, myrtle was the sacred flower of Venus. In the writings of the Roman poets, Venus is frequently associated with myrtle. For example, Ovid relates how Venus gave him a leaf and berries from her myrtle garland during his encounter with the goddess -

> A myrtle leaf and berries as she spake -
> For myrtle wreathed her hair she made me take

Myrtle was also believed to possess magical properties; properties which could increase fertility and beautify a woman's appearance. However the plant also acquired more sinister connotations. It became "the emblem of initiation into Dionysian rites."[B] But it was also reputedly used by Jews "to dispel the odour of the fire of hell in habdalah (Jewish rite at the close of the Sabbath)".[C] The difficulty remains in ascertaining Dürer's understanding of the significance of myrtle.

A. Ovid, Ars Amatoria, (London 1965), 89.

B. A. de Vries, Dictionary of Symbols and Imagery, (Amsterdam 1974), 334.

C. Ibid., 334.

"Winter" on the shaky evidence that in the woodcut, Spring is positioned opposite winter.[63] Strictly speaking, Spring is located diagonally opposite Winter in the Celtes illustration. Furthermore, Dwyer fails to mention that in the woodcut, summer is also placed opposite Spring, a factor which serves to diminish his argument. Even Dwyer acknowledges that the two remaining women in the engraving are difficult to identify as "Summer" and "Autumn".[64] Neither figure exhibits any characteristics pertinent to a particular season. That being the case, Dwyer continues to offer the suggestion that the woman with the pointed coif may be "Autumn", in view of the arrangement of Seasons in the Celtes work. In the woodcut, Spring and Autumn are grouped together on the right side of the work. If the possibility exists that the women represent the Four Seasons, in the order recommended by Dwyer, how is the composition to be read? As previously mentioned, the positioning of the figures suggests a circular movement in a clockwise direction which also tallies with the concept of the cyclical nature of the seasons. However, the positioning of "Spring" opposite "Winter" by Dwyer throws the entire scheme into confusion and prevents a circular reading of the programme. Dwyer again refers to the Celtes woodcut to explain this ambiguity. He points out a similar conflict in the woodcut concerning the allocation of the seasons. In the latter, Spring and Winter are diagonally opposite, as are Summer and Autumn. The reasons for the peculiar placement of the seasons in both the woodcut and the engraving are unclear.

Dwyer's interpretation of the sphere above the women's heads further supports his proposal that the four women represent the four seasons. In his opinion the sphere is "the combination of a fruit and a terrestrial globe."[65] The sphere is clearly marked with the

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[63] Dwyer, "Durer's Four Witches", 466.

[64] <u>Ibid.</u>, 466.

[65] <u>Ibid.</u>, 457.

date 1497. This is the first engraving by Dürer before 1503 to bear a date, a factor which suggests that a specific event is taking place. Certainly Dwyer attaches great significance to this date. He believes that the sphere marked with 1497 represents that particular year. The year 1497 is therefore turned full circle by the changing "seasons" which are featured below. The origin of the image of seasons rotating the year is questionable. Dwyer is unable to cite illustrations of such an image, prior to the time of Dürer. Instead Dwyer brings to our notice a woodcut executed in Venice in 1647, which portrays the theme in question (illustration 8, location unknown). The woodcut illustrates a passage from V. Cartari's (c.1500- ?) Le Imagine de i Dei degli Antichi, which describes how the seasons turn the year with their hands.[66] According to the text the year is in the form of a circular object.[67] In the Cartari woodcut, the year, represented by a wheel, is rotated by four winged seasons. Le Imagine was first written in 1530, so it is conceivable that the concept of Seasons turning the year was established as an image during Dürer's lifetime if not before. As Dwyer comments, there are similarities in the positioning and actions of the females in Dürer's engraving with those of the seasons in the Cartari woodcut. In both illustrations, the women form a circle and have both hands extended towards the centre of the group. Such similarities are too circumstantial to allow us to establish with any conviction that the four females in Dürer's work are the four seasons.

Dwyer however, introduces two more arguments to buttress his theory. Firstly he mentions the voluptuous shape of the women, which he sees as an expression of "the life-giving properties of the seasons".[68] He also interprets the fruit-like appearance of the sphere

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[66] V. Cartari, Le Imagine de i Dei degli Antichi, (Venice 1647), repr (Graz 1963), 287.

[67] Ibid., 287.

[68] Dwyer, "Dürer's Four Witches", 467.

to be a statement of fertility.[69] As a result of these references to burgeoning life and human production, Dwyer proposes that the letters O.G.H. stand for the "popular phrase", *Origo Generis Humani* (origin of the human race).[70] Secondly, he offers an explanation for the more devilish details of the engraving in terms of the four seasons. Dwyer informs us that such disturbing features as the bones at the feet of the women, the peculiar appearance of the interior and the devil lurking in the doorway "can be found to agree perfectly with the story of the Seasons as found in Boethius."[71] The following extract from the Consolation of Philosophy is quoted in support of his opinion.

> These rules thus nourish and maintaine
> All creatures, which we see on earth to live,
> And when they dye,
> These bring them to their end.[72]

In this extract, a reference is certainly made with the passing of the Seasons to the transience of life and inevitability of death. However, where are the references to the bones, the strange architecture and the devil, which Dwyer believes are so precisely described in the writings of Boethius?[73]

If it is difficult to find a correlation between the text of Boethius and details in Dürer's engraving, a description in Homer's Iliad of the rôle of the seasons appears to provide a more accurate commentary on what is taking place. In Homer's view, the

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[69] Ibid., p. 467. In The Complete Engravings, Etchings, and Drypoints of Albrecht Durer, ed. W. Strauss (New York 1972), 38, the "fruit" is identifed as a pomegranite; a symbol amongst other things, of fertility.

[70] Dwyer, "Dürer's Four Witches", 467.

[71] Dwyer, Dürer's Four Witches", 467.

[72] Boethius, The Consolation, 101.

[73] I have studied The Consolation in detail and can find no mention of the features in question.

Seasons stand at the entrance to heaven and decide who may enter and who may be denied entry.[74] Given that Dürer was familiar with the writings of Homer, there is the chance that the subject matter of the engraving was inspired by Homer's account of the Seasons. Dwyer favours this possibility.[75] He accordingly interprets the doorway on the right as the entrance to heaven and the doorway on the left, with its devilish occupant, as the corridor to hell.[76] In all probability, the left doorway leads to hell or some other foul destination, as indicated by the flames and horned creature within its portals. However, there is nothing heavenly about the right doorway with its stark, forbidding exterior, devoid of angelic personages or symbols of hope.

The whole atmosphere of the engraving is one of gloom and menace, with no suggestion of happiness to indicate the joyful properties of the seasons. The noticeably demonic qualities of the four women have even been noted by Dwyer, who admits that their "downright infernal nature is not adequately explained by simply identifying them as the Seasons."[77] Taking into consideration the diabolic nature of the women and the unconvincing arguments of Dwyer, it would indeed appear that the four women in Dürer's engraving cannot be accurately identified as the four Seasons. Furthermore, the Seasons in medieval manuscripts, wall paintings and stained glass were usually represented by symbols and occupations.[78] The women in Dürer's engraving lack

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[74] Homer, The Iliad of Homer, (London 1883) 105, 140.

[75] Dwyer, "Dürer's Four Witches", 467.

[76] Ibid., 467.

[77] Ibid., 468.

[78] T. Fowler, Medieval Representations of the Months and Seasons, (London 1873).
Observe for example the treatment of the months in the following manuscripts.
Belleville Breviary, Ms lot 10483, c. 1325 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
Grimani Breviary, c. 1500, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice.
Tres Riches Heures de Jean de Berry, Ms. 65, fol., 2v, before 1416, Musée Condé Chantilly.

specific attributes associated with the Seasons and they are not participating in recognizable seasonal activities.

The controversy surrounding the subject matter of Dürer's Four Witches continues. In a recent article, T. Poesch offers a mythological interpretation of the scene.[79] He proposes that the subject of the engraving is a synthesis of Venus and The Three Graces and the Choice of Paris.

As art historians frequently observe, the posture and grouping of the three foreground women in Dürer's work are derived in part from the classical motif of the Three Graces.[80] Certainly the arrangement of the group, with the central figure seen from the rear and the figure to her right in a twisted-hip pose, is reminiscent of the classical model. Illustrations of the Three Graces may well have been available to Dürer, either through antique examples or through Renaissance renderings of the subject. One detail in particular in Dürer's engraving, that of the long piece of cloth descending from the coiffure of the right hand witch, occurs in many 15th century representations of the Three Graces.[81]

Despite figural similarities between Dürer's females and the Three Graces of the classical world, an obvious dissimilarity remains. There are only Three Graces, yet in Dürer's engraving

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[79] J. Poesch, "Sources for Two Dürer Enigmas", 78-82.

[80] The bodies of the two "witches" flanking the central garlanded figure were also partially inspired by the forms of two bathers in an earlier drawing by Dürer entitled the "Women's Bath" of 1496. (Kunsthalle, Bremen.) The upper half of the left "witch" closely resembles that of the bather in the left portion of the drawing. The torso of the "witch" with the long, flowing scarf is adapted from the squatting woman in the drawing. It is uncertain whether the figures in the "Women's Bath" were executed from life or were influenced by Italianate bathing scenes.

[81] Dwyer, "Dürer's Four Witches", 470. See for example the Three Graces on folio 39r of a 15th century Parisian manuscript (Ms fr. 143) now housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Also observe the woodcut of Venus and the Three Graces in Colard Mansion's edition of Ovide moralisée. The woodcut was executed in Bruges and dates from 1484 (illustration 9).

four women comprise the group. Undeterred, Poesch argues in the first section of his article that three of Dürer's figures possibly are the Three Graces. The remaining woman he suggests is Venus.[82] Poesch identifies the central figure (with her hands turned to the spectator) as Venus, on account of her myrtle wreath and her significant placement in the picture.[83] He notes that "Venus is strategically positioned beneath the globe with the skull lying at her feet."[84]

As with the other theories examined so far, it is necessary to question the relationship between the infernal elements of the scene and the proposed subject, in this instance Venus and the Three Graces. It appears that in the Renaissance, the attitude towards Venus and the Three Graces was ambivalent.[85] Opinion amongst Italian writers of the latter part of the 15th century varied as to the nature of Venus and her attendants. Northern writers likewise defined Venus in positive and negative terms. In Colard Mansion's publication of Ovide Moralisée (printed 1494 in Bruges), Venus is described as a beautiful naked woman.[86] However, she is also referred to as the representative of the "voluptuous life" and is compared to the "harlot of Isaiah" (23:16).[87] In addition the text provides information concerning the characters of the Three Graces who are said to accompany Venus. According to Berchorius, the Three Graces have dual identities. They can be interpreted as either the vices (avarice,

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[82] Poesch, "Two Dürer Enigmas", 78.

[83] Refer to note 62 for the symbolism of myrtle.

[84] Poesch, "Two Dürer Enigmas", 78.

[85] E. Gombrich, "Botticelli's Mythologies, a study of the Neoplatonic Symbolism of his circle." Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, VIII (1945), 7-60.

[86] J. Van T'Sant, Le Commentaire de Copenhagen de L'Ovide Moralisée (Leiden 1929), 36. This description of Venus is found in a section of the book which is separate from the stories of Ovid. The text of the former, in which the various attributes of the deities are discussed, was written by Petrus Berchorius (died 1362).

[87] Ibid. 36. In the 15th century medieval moralists frequently associated Venus with the sin of lust. See M. Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins, (Michigan 1952), 233.

carnal desire and infidelity, sins which are associated with the "voluptuous life")[88] or as the three virtues (faith, hope and charity).[89] Interestingly enough, in the woodcut of Venus and the Three Graces which accompanies the text in Mansion's edition, no reference is made to either the good or bad qualities of Venus and her maidens, (illustration 9, location uncertain). On the contrary, in Dürer's engraving, the artist has chosen to portray the darker natures of Venus and the Three Graces (if indeed they are the subject of the picture).[90] The bones and hellfire, which highlight the malefic characters of the women, are not unprecedented in illustrations of Venus. In an earlier German woodcut of about 1475, entitled *Amor Carnalis* (executed anonymously), a naked Venus/Cupid figure is pictured standing over a skull and sword (illustration 10, Warburg Institute, London). The motto accompanying the skull reads *Finis Amoris*. Above the naked woman is a poem warning mankind against the dangers of carnal love. Below the skull is the mouth of hell, ready to digest the "sinners of the flesh". Poesch thus demonstrates the first part of his theory, that the Four Witches is a "strongly medieval interpretation of Venus and the Three Graces",[91] reflecting "the late medieval concept of Venus and her attendants as symbols of the voluptuous life".[92]

Poesch also contends that Dürer's work is more subtle and complex than merely a medieval interpretation of Venus and the Three Graces. In the latter section of his article, he argues that a second mythological theme, the Judgement of Paris, was adapted by Dürer to suit his needs. Poesch assumes, quite logically, that

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[88] Van T'Sant, L'Ovide Moralisee, 36-37.

[89] Ibid., 37.

[90] Dürer's conception of Venus as a demonic temptress is established in his engraving entitled "The Temptation of the Idler", (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, USA). The Temptation is believed to have been executed in approximately the same year as the "Four Witches".

[91] Poesch, "Two Durer Enigmas", 80.

[92] Ibid., 82.

contemporary interpretations of Dürer's "Four Witches" might provide the key to unravelling its enigmatic message. He therefore examines a contemporary copy of Dürer's "Four Witches" (dated 1500) by the 16th century Italian artist Nicoletto da Modena. The subject of Nicoletto's engraving appears to be a confused version of the Judgement of Paris (illustration 11, British Museum, London). At first glance, Nicoletto's engraving differs little from that of Dürer's. However certain changes have been made, which imply that he understood Dürer's picture as being connected in some way with the Judgement of Paris. The inscription O.G.H. on the fruit has been replaced by *Detur Pulcrior.* Is this the apple of discord presented to the most beautiful? The figures have also been slightly modified and carry attributes which distinguish them as goddesses. According to Poesch, the woman holding the mirror is probably Venus.[93] He bases his suggestion on another engraving by Nicoletto (now housed in the British Museum, illustration 12) in which Venus is depicted with a mirror. The figure below the fruit, with a chain around her neck and a spear in her hand, is identified by Poesch as either Pallas Athene or Minerva.[94] This choice is influenced by the appearance of Pallas Athene/Minerva in a third engraving by Nicoletto. In his engraving, the goddess is equipped with a chain and spear (illustration 13, British Museum). The woman nearest the square framed doorway (in Nicoletto's version of the Four Witches) has undergone the most changes in the hands of the Italian artist. The elaborate coif worn by Dürer's "witch" is replaced by a wreath, In her hand, Nicoletto da Modena's young woman holds a torch. Poesch assumes she represents Juno,[95] but makes little attempt to justify this assumption. The identification of the remaining figure posed a

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[93]Ibid., 81.

[94]Ibid., 81.

[95]Ibid., 81.

greater problem for Poesch. Obviously not Paris, he offered the suggestion that the female represented Discord.[96] If this identification is correct, Nicoletto's interpretation of the Judgement of Paris differs from traditional renderings of the subject which portrayed Paris in the act of delivering the apple to the chosen goddess. Certainly Nicoletto's portrayal of the Judgement story is somewhat perplexing. If the model for Nicoletto's engraving was Dürer's "Four Witches", does this mean that Dürer's picture has something to do with the Judgement of Paris? When one considers the similarities between the two engravings in general composition and the established tradition of copying the iconography of a particular subject, it seems possible that the "Four Witches" may be a version of the Paris theme, a version misunderstood and misrepresented by Nicoletto. If this is indeed the case, what aspect of the Judgement tale has Dürer chosen to illustrate, for clearly he too offers an unusual depiction of the event? Poesch proposes that the scene in Dürer's engraving is the result of the choice of Paris.[97] When Paris awarded the apple to Venus instead of to Minerva or Juno, the outcome was "war, discord, and the sorrows and punishments of carnal love".[98] In Poesch's opinion, the sphere above Venus's head is the controversial apple and the skull at the feet of Venus, the symbol of misery caused by the choice.[99]

An allegorical treatment of the Judgement of Paris may have been suggested to Dürer through his knowledge of the written works of the Florentine philosopher and theologian, Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499). In Ficino's writings, many of which were published in 1497

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[96] Ibid., 81.

[97] Ibid., 81.

[98] Ibid., 81.

[99] Ibid., 81.

in Nuremberg by Dürer's godfather Koberger, the Paris story is utilized more than once "as an allegorical description of the choice of the soul" with Venus "an allegorical representation of the voluptuous life."[100] In a letter written by Ficino to Lorenzo de Medici (1449-1492), reference is made in allegorical form to the unhappiness which resulted from Paris's choice. In the letter, Ficino recounts how "the three types of life, the contemplative, the active, and the voluptuous" are related "to three kinds of happiness, that is happiness obtained through wisdom, power and desire, which three are represented by, respectively, Minerva, Juno and Venus."[101] On selecting Venus, Paris naturally fell into misery because he rejected wisdom and power in favour of desire. A similar interpretation of the Judgement story is present in the Mythologies of Fulgentius, written in the 6th century. Dürer's close friend, Willibald Pirckheimer, possessed a copy of this work and may well have introduced the artist to the Mythologies.[102]

In examining the various arguments put forward to explain the content of the "Four Witches", it becomes apparent that (as in the case of the "Incubus"), Dürer did not rely upon one iconographic source for his inspiration. Despite the thoughtful arguments of Panofsky and Poesch in particular, the appearance of the scene fails to conform precisely to one explanation. Instead Dürer's engraving appears to be an amalgamation of several strands of thought and influences. Compositionally, the figures are based upon Italian models and perhaps upon Dürer's own observations from life.[103] Themetically, Dürer seems to have adapted the southern mythological subjects of Venus and the Three Graces and the Judgement of Paris,

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[100] Ibid., 81

[101] Ibid., 81.

[102] Ibid., 81, 82.

[103] It should be noted that Dürer's enjoyment of the heavy irregularities of flesh in firm but awkward lines betrays his northern origins. The emphasis on detail illustrated in the contemporary headdresses worn by the women is also characteristic of Flemish and German art of the period.

to suit his northern imagination, an imagination fired with visions of the supernatural and witchcraft.)*

The image of the witch in a more purified form than that exhibited in the "Incubus" and the "Four Witches" is found in a third engraving by the German master, entitled "Witch Riding Backwards on a Goat", (illustration 14, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). The engraving was not dated by Dürer. On account of its style, scholars usually assign a date between 1500 and 1505 to the work.[104] In this picture it is easy to identify the witch. She is flying through the air on a goat, distaff in hand.[105] The hag is seated backwards on

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[104] Dürer in America: His Graphic Work, ed. C. Talbot, (Washington 1971).

[105] One of the most common creatures to be depicted in an illustration of witchcraft from medieval times until the present day is the goat. The animal is usually portrayed as a method of transportation for the witches or as an object of worship at the Sabbeth. The goat represented the Devil in disguise. 15th and 16th century accounts confirm that the Devil rarely appeared at the Sabbeth in human form.[A] A dog or a monkey were other forms the Devil might assume at this ceremony. One of the earliest illustrations of goat worship at the Sabbeth is found in a French miniature of about 1460 (illustration 25, *cabinet des manuscripts, fonds, Francais 961.* Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris). As the miniature reveals, paying homage to the Devil involved kissing the goat's fundament. Goat worship and the association of a goat with fecundity and the supernatural were in fact familiar concepts to the Ancients. The goat's salacious appetite in nature (one buck supposedly satisfies 150 females), may initially have prompted goat worship in Egypt, Greece and Italy, where the animal was worshipped in caprine and phallic form.[B] In Roman times the goat played a significant role in the cult of Dionysus. In honour of Dionysus, the unfortunate beast would be torn apart and devoured live by Dionysian followers at their celebrations. The Romans also created amulets in the shape of a phallus, often with goat's legs attached. Such amulets, called *fascinum* were believed to possess magical properties.[C] The Greeks worshipped the goat god Pan. Pan's distinguishing features, hooves, beard and horns, reappear as attributes of the Devil. The association of the goat with the darker arts intensified in Europe during the Middle Ages when cosmologically the male goat was linked with Thor, the God of Thunder and of War.[D] Furthermore, in medieval times, Satyrs, half human, half caprine in form were considered the result of man's carnal appetite. Given the lascivious nature of the witch

her demonic mount, in accordance with the theories of the witch hunters, who believed everything in Satan's realm was "the reverse of the natural process".[106] The concept of the airborne witch was fundamental to witchcraft mythology. Although certain early demonologists, for example, Ponzinibio, Vincent, Cassini and Von Kayserberg opposed the actuality of transvection, opinion in general supported the reality of the witches' flight.[107] With the publication of the Malleus, the aerial activites of witches became an established fact.

> ...so are witches actually and bodily transported. And he who wishes to argue from this Canon that the effects of witchcraft, the infliction of disease or any sickness, are purely imaginary utterly mistakes the tenor of the Canon and errs most grossly.[108]

> they can transport themselves from place to place through the air, either in body or in imagination.[109]

Two early representatives of the witches' flight occur in Ulrich Molitor's treatise on witchcraft.[110] In one woodcut the witch

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and the earlier, unwholesome history of the goat, the latter's conspiracy with the Devil was assured.

[A] Baroja, Witches, 91.

[B] B. Rowland, Animals with Human Faces. A Guide to Animal Symbolism, (Tennessee 1973), 81.

[C] Ibid., 83.

[D] D. Bax, Hieronymus Bosch. His Picture Writing Deciphered, (Rotterdam 1979), 66.

[106] Waetzoldt, Durer, 48.

[107] Details of the demonologists' lives and works are documented in the appendix.

[108] Institor, Sprenger, Malleus, 7.

[109] Ibid., 99.

[110] Molitor's treatise is entitled De Lamiis et Phitonicis Mulieribus (Concerning Female Sorcerers and Soothsayers), 1489, University of Constance. The seven woodcuts illustrating this treatise were executed anonymously. Ulrich Molitor, who was Doctor of Laws of Padua and professor at the University of Constance, believed in the existence of witches and supported the decision that witches should be burnt at the stake.

straddles a wolf, and in the other, three witches in animal guise sit astride a stick/pitchfork (illustration 15). The legendary broomstick as the witches' vehicle rarely appears in pictorial form until the 15th century. Mention should be made however of a picture of a witch riding a broom in the cathedral of Schleswig.[111] The painting dates from 1280. Illustrations of sorceresses riding goats are not common until the 16th century.

A widespread accusation against witches in 15th century Germany was that they caused natural disasters, for example storms.[112] Durer's witch is no exception, for a hailstorm accompanies the aerial group. Detailed accounts of their powers in bringing about storms at sea, or precipitations of hail and rain are found in the Malleus.

> For they raise hailstorms and hurtful tempests and lightnings.[113]

> How they Raise and Stir up Hailstorms and Tempests, and Cause Lightning to Blast both Men and Beasts.[114]

The details of the putti carrying poles, the topiary tree and spherical jar are more difficult to explain. These items were not part of the established witchcraft iconography. Suggestions made to account for their appearance are few and unsatisfactory. Again perhaps the Malleus should be consulted in an attempt to decipher the puzzling aspects of the scene. In a chapter which examines how witches cause hailstorms, the following confession is extracted from a woman suspected of creating a hailstorm in the diocese of Constance.

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[111] Repr. E. Battisti, L'Antirinascimento, (Milan 1962), plate 28, opp. p. 241.

[112] The ability of witches to cause storms was firmly established in the 13th century by such scholars as Bonaventura and Thomas Aquinas. In 1489, Ulrich Molitor commented that it was generally accepted that witches had the power to conjure up lightning and hail.

[113] Institor, Sprenger, Malleus, 99.

[114] Ibid., 147.

> I was in my house, and at midday a familiar came to me and told me to go with a little water on to the field or plain of Kuppel (for so it is named). And when I asked what he wanted me to do with the water, he said that he wanted to make it rain. So I went out at the town gate, and found the devil standing under a tree....Under that one opposite that tower....The devil told me to dig a little hole and pour the water into it....I sat down, but the devil stood up....I stirred it with my finger, and called on the name of the devil himself and all the other devils "....[The water] disappeared, and the devil took it up into the air.[115]

Is the jar held by the putto in Dürer's engraving a container for the water referred to in the extract? The pitted landscape the plain of Kuppel? A tree is mentioned, although there is no reference to a topiary tree. The putti wielding sticks are also unaccounted for in the text. Ultimately one can only speculate that such elements may be derived from the Malleus. In general, however, accounts of storm raising in the witch treatises undoubtedly inspired the overall content of the picture. Yet the innovative touch of the artist is also present. The Italinate style putti for example, rather than symbolizing some occult force, may serve merely a decorative or compositional role.

Dürer's engraving entitled "Witch Riding Backwards on a Goat" is without doubt devoted to the subject of witchcraft. The earlier engravings "The Incubus?" and "Four Witches", contain elements of witchcraft in the composition but these ingredients only partially contribute to the picture's appearance. In "Witch Riding Backwards on a Goat", many of the details accord well with demonologist's beliefs concerning transvection and foul weather. The analysis conducted of "The Incubus?" and "Four Witches" suggests that demonologists' opinions regarding incubi and the "midwife witch" were foremost in Dürer's mind when he executed the two works.

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[115] Ibid., 149.

CHAPTER TWO

IMAGES OF WITCHCRAFT IN THE ART OF HANS BALDUNG GRIEN, (1484/5-1545)

He presented witches as if initiated in magic.[1]

Hans Baldung Grien,[2] born in Schwäbisch Gmund in 1484/5, the son of an attorney (and allegedly a pupil of Dürer), is a thorough commentator on the behaviour of witches. His work reflects an almost obsessive preoccupation with the supernatural. Two topics in particular fascinated

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[1] G. Von Der Osten and H. Vey, Painting and Sculpture in Germany and the Netherlands 1500-1600 (Baltimore 1969), 223,

[2] The details of Baldung's life and career are somewhat unclear, since few documents concerning the artist and no letters written by Baldung survive. However the following facts are known. Baldung spent his early childhood in Strasbourg, where his father was an espiscopal official (1492-1505). Around 1503, Baldung travelled to Nuremberg in order to seek an apprenticeship with Dürer. That Dürer accepted the boy as an apprentice in 1503 is almost certain. Scholars have made this deduction on the basis of style and later circumstantial evidence. Four years later in 1507, he moved to Halle to execute two altarpieces for the cathedral. He returned to Strasbourg in 1509. He became a citizen of the city and married (1510) Margarethe Herlin, the daughter of a wealthy merchant. Shortly after the marriage, Baldung and his wife became members of a religious brotherhood of St. Lawrence.[A] As with Hieronymous Bosch (1450-1516), attempts have been made to associate Baldung with a secret sect who dabbled in the occult.[B] Baldung's allegiance to the Catholic church and then later to the Protestant cause was never in doubt. During his first long sojourn in Strasbourg (1509-1512), Baldung opened his own workshop and received commissions for paintings, stained glass designs and book illustrations. In 1512 Baldung journeyed to Freiburg and remained there for the next five years. Caspar Baldung, his brother, was at that time teaching at the University of Freiburg. The artist moved for the last time in 1517 back to Strasbourg, now a major centre of Protestant reform and active scholarship. Strasbourg was also the home of Sebastian Brant, Johann Geiler Von Kaiserberg and Thomas Murner who either wrote or lectured on the dangers of witchcraft during the first quarter of the 16th

the artist between 1509 and 1515. The first topic was witchcraft and the second "the gruesomeness and inevitability of death."[3] Both themes were to concern the artist for the rest of his life and became the subject of several of his engravings, woodcuts, drawings and paintings. Baldung's scenes of witchcraft highlight especially his absorption with the sexual myths surrounding the witch.

The lascivious nature of the witch is continually stressed in the handbooks of "demonologists".[4] Perfectly in keeping with this ideology are Baldung's creations of the female witch. Naked, flabby, indecorously posed women dominate his witchcraft compositions. Such females abound in Baldung's first illustration of sorcery, a single-leaf woodcut of 1510 entitled "Witches' Sabbath" (illustration 17

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century.[C] He remained in Strasbourg until his death in 1545. Baldung died a well-respected citizen.

[A]T. Brady Jr., "The Social Place of a German Renaissance Artist: Hans Baldung Grien (1484/5-1545)"at Strasbourg, Central European History 8 (1975), 299.

[B]The author of an anonymous article published in "die Weltkunst" in 1970 (no.3, 102), proposed that Baldung belonged to a gnostic, antique sect the Ophites. No historic proof is provided to support this proposal.

[C]G. Radbruch,"Hans Baldung's Hexenbilder", Elegantiae Juris Criminalis, (1950), 31.

[3]Hans Baldung Grien. Prints and Drawings, ed. James Marrow, Alan Shestack (Chicago 1981), 9.

[4]Few witchcraft treatises fail to mention the witches' lustful character. The Malleus is full of references which condemn their licentious activities. For example

> And among their chief operations are being bodily transported from place to place, and to practice carnal connexion with Incubus devils.[A]

> To conclude. All witchcraft comes from carnal lust, which is in women insatiable.[B]

In general it was believed that witches found intercourse with devils a painful and frightening experience. However some of the earlier manuals stress the pleasurable aspect of sexual relations with the diabolic. (Baldung's renderings of witchcraft correspond well with the latter school of thought. See for example his drawing of 1515 entitled "Young Witch and Dragon" (illustration 16, Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe.) In 1458 the witchfinder Nicholas Jacquier, discussed

Private Collection, Zurich). The woodcut is unquestionably the work of Baldung. A plaque with his initials, reminiscent of Dürer's technique of establishing authorship, hangs from the tree.[5] Baldung's emblematic signature, the grape leaf motif, also adorns the tree trunk.

In what is possibly the first single-leaf woodcut to depict the theme of witch's Sabbath, Baldung provides the viewer with a detailed pictorial account of items and events associated with the ceremony.[6]

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how witches eagerly succumbed to the devil's embrace and even wore themselves out in the act of copulation.[C] Persistent coverage in the witchcraft texts of the sexual practices of witches, particularly during sabbath celebrations, fired the inquisitors' imaginations. At witch trials after 1430, judges mercilessly questioned the accused about their sexual antics with devils. Not surprisingly the confessions extracted (frequently under torture) were lurid and explicit.

A. Institor, Sprenger, Malleus, 104.

B. Ibid., 47.

C. R. Hope Robbins, The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology, (London 1964), 465.

[5]Early in his career Baldung signed his work "HB". By 1510, the initial "G" (short for Grien) was added to the original monogram and "HBG" became the official stamp of the artist. Where and why Baldung acquired the nickname Grien is not known. Some speculate that the name originated from the artist's predilection for the colour green. Baldung allegedly favoured green clothes. Also in his early work, green is a frequently used colour. Most likely the name Grien was given to Baldung in Dürer's shop in order to distinguish him from three other apprentices called Hans - Hans Schäufelein, Hans Von Kulmbach and his younger brother Hans.

[6]As early as 1335, in a sorcery trial at Toulouse, the reality of the Sabbath was confirmed.[A] After this trial the concept of the Sabbath (essentially a fabrication of the inquisition), spread with increasing fantasy. By the sixteenth century the Sabbath was firmly established as an essential component of the witchcraft cult. In the opinion of medieval demonologists, Sabbaths were nocturnal events and took place either in churches or at crossroads. Fields and wild woods were also considered favourite meeting grounds for witches.[B] (Baldung's "Witches Sabbath" takes place in a wood at night.) Inquisitors occasionally cited specific locations where witches allegedly held their celebrations. In Germany, the Venusberg Mountain, Blocksberg and Heuberg were reputed to accommodate such festivities.[C] Opinion varies as to the origins of the word Sabbath. In all probability it originated from the Hebrew word Sabbath. As the author discusses in note 141 of this thesis, Jewish beliefs and practices were considered perverse by

The witches are practising their art in a desolate location under cover of darkness. A decaying tree-trunk suitably suggests the sinister locale. Three hags occupy the foreground space. They are surrounded by paraphernalia associated with their trade - cauldrons, pitchforks and bones (note the horse's skull).[7] The witches familiar, the cat, is also present.[8]

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the Catholic church in the late Middle Ages. Hence, what better indictment of Judaism than the equation of the Jewish Sabbath with a witches' gathering (at which all manner of perversions were reported to take place). Perversions such as frienzied dancing, diabolical rituals and indiscriminate intercourse. Surprisingly, no information on the subject of the Sabbath is provided in the Malleus.

A. Cuttler, "Witchcraft in a Work by Bosch", Art Quarterly, XX 1957, 130.

B. Robbins, The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology, 418.

C. Ibid., 416.

[7]The skull of a horse is traditionally connected with witchcraft. Dirk Bax dwells in some detail on how the horse's skull came to be considered "a favourite attribute of witches". Suffice it is to say that the magical properties of the horse's skull were recognized in pagan times. The Germanic peoples sacrificed horse's heads to their gods in the belief it would bring good fortune and avert disaster. Naturally with the earlier associations of the horse's skull with sacrifice and the pagan world, the object gradually became identified with witchcraft. The horse's skull appears to have fulfilled a variety of the witches' needs. In Germany it was believed that witches used the skull as a drinking vessel and in the Netherlands it supposedly functioned as a musical instrument at the Sabbath.[B] The skull was also used as a mode of transport by witches, In a painting entitled Saul and the Witch of Endor (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), executed by Cornelisz Van Oostzanen (1470-1533), a witch rides on a horse's skull.

A. Bax, Hieronymus Bosch, 213-216.

B. Ibid., 215-216.

[8]For centuries, the cat has been associated with occult powers. Different cultures and civilizations from all periods of history have credited this animal with magical properties. In Ancient Eqypt, the Egyptian's worshipped the cat goddess Bast. At Bubastis (the cat's sacred habitation) and other sites, archaeologists have unearthed hundreds of mummified cats. Such finds indicate the importance of the feline cult in Egyptian society. The domestic cat was introduced to Europe from Ancient Egypt by the Romans. In Europe as in Egypt, the abilities and charactistics of the cat were defined. Naturally these varied from place to place and were subject to change over a period of time.[A] In late Medieval Flanders and Germany, (the

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concern of this thesis) the cat evolved as a figure of folly, salacity and diabolism.[B]

The cat became interchangeable with the Devil as early as the 12th century. About 1182, the English ecclesiastic and scholar Walter Map (1140-1209) provided a written account of the supposed revels of an heretical sect, the Cathars.[C] According to Map, the devil appeared to his disciples at their meeting in the shape of a cat. The following extract is taken from Map's description of the event.

> "About the first watch of the night, when gates, doors, and windows have been closed, the groups sit waiting in silence in their respective synagogues, and a black cat of marvellous size climbs down a rope which hangs in their midst. On seeing it they put out the lights. They do not sing hymns or repeat them distinctly, but hum through clenched teeth and panting feel their way toward the place where they see their Lord. When they have found him they kiss him, each the more humbly as he is the more inflamed by frenzy - some the feet, more under the tail, most the private parts." [D]

From the late 12th century onwards, the cat's affiliation with the devil became widely recognized. A popular way of addressing Satan in the Low Countries at the time was *die helsche Cater* (the hellish tomcat).[E] Artists adopted this metaphor and began to paint Satan in the guise of a cat. Satan appears in feline form in the hell panel of Hieronymus Bosch's Visions of the Hereafter, executed around 1500 (Palazzo Ducale, Venice).[F] Once the cat was firmly established as the devil's accomplice, then Satan's other assistants, the witches, were accused of collaborating with the creature. As with Satan, witches were believed to possess the power to transform themselves into cats. However it was in the role of the witches' familiar (a role well documented in illustrations of witchcraft) that the cat achieved notoriety. Even today the cat is remembered for this occult alliance.

A. The varied symbolism of the cat is discussed in De Vries, Dictionary of Symbols, 85-86.

B. Examples in late medieval art of the cat as a symbol of folly and salacity are given in Dirk Bax, Hieronymus Bosch, 228.

C. The Cathars who established themselves in the mid 12th century in Europe were considered an heretical group because of their firm dualist beliefs. The Catharists believed in the power of God, but placed greater emphasis on the strengths of the Devil. This emphasis on the power of the Devil was misinterpreted by their enemies and by some of their followers to mean that the Devil was stronger than God; obeisance would therefore be paid to the Devil and not God, thereby confirming the heretical nature of the sect. Russell, A History of Witchcraft, 60-62.

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Two witches squat beside a jar marked with strange, pseudo-Hebraic letters.[9] Clouds of phosphorescent fumes containing tiny creatures billow from the vessel. A third witch emerges from behind the whirling vapours with raised arms. She carries a plate of scrawny, reptilean-like specimens in her right hand. Three other witches are also present. Behind the crone with outstretched arms, a wizened figure holds a flaming torch to the genitals of an airborne goat.[10] Mounted backwards on this goat is a fifth witch who bears a pot between the prongs of a pitchfork. The composition of the flying goat and witch bears a striking resemblance to Dürer's rendering of the witch in his engraving of 1500-1502 (illustration 14). Doubtless Dürer's figure served as the model for Baldung's design. The remaining witch can be detected in the top left corner of the woodcut. She is swept through the air on a cloud of smoke, seemingly the

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D. Ibid., 62.

E. Bax, Bosch, 228.

F. Reproduced, Charles de Tolnay, Hieronymus Bosch (Germany 1966), plate 109. Other medieval artists who executed the Devil with a feline appearance are discussed in J. Champfleury, (Histoire de la Caricature au Moyen Age et sous la Renaissance (Paris 1867), 87.

[9] Why Baldung chose to decorate the jar with Hebraic lettering becomes clear once the status of Jews in medieval society is taken into consideration. As a group, the Jews were ostracized in the Middle Ages and their rituals and beliefs were looked upon as "the height of perversion."[A] Despite this hostility towards the Jewish faith, Jews strictly speaking were free from allegations of witchcraft. The reason for their exemption lies in the definition of a witch by the Catholic church. In the eyes of Catholic inquisitors a witch was a baptized Christian who deviated from official Catholic doctrines.[B] Hence Jews could not be categorized as witches. However they were attacked as Satan's accomplices and the charges laid against them mirrored accusations leveled at witches. For example, Jews were accused of concocting potions from human flesh and poisonous plants.

A. Baroja, The World of Witches, 88.

B. Robbins, Witchcraft, 281.

[10] In the right hand panel of Hieronymus Bosch's Temptation of St. Anthony (c. 1500-1505) (illustration 18A. National Museum, Lisbon), a "devilish" man flying on a fish carries a similar torch over his shoulder. "Today as in the time of Bosch, the Devil is called in Dutch *'Joosje Peck'* (Pitch)." The Torch of pitch is to be regarded as a flag of the devil."[A]

A. C.W. Aymès, The Pictorial Language of Hieronymus Bosch, (Sussex 1975), 39.

creation of her accomplices below. The general atmosphere and activities of the Sabbath are thus conveyed. Evident is the flight to and from the festival, the conjuring up of charms and potions, the banquet, the raising of foul weather and the sexual capers (suggested by their lewd postures and the lighting of the goat's posterior). Most of the beldames' utensils featured in "Witches' Sabbath" are self-explanatory or have been discussed in an earlier chapter. However there are two unusual items embellishing the nocturnal scene which warrant consideration: First, a row of sausages draped across a pitchfork in the lower left section of the woodcut and second, a convex mirror prominently located in front of the central group of crones.

Why sausages become an attribute of witches is not difficult to understand. Sausages were the traditional fare of revellers celebrating festive occasions, particularly carnival, in Flanders and Germany.[11] In numerous illustrations of carnival, a sausage can be discovered. For example, in a 16th century copy of a lost painting by Hieronymus Bosch entitled Merrymakers Inside a Hall, (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), a sausage dangles from the roasting spit of an old woman.[12] Similarly in Pieter Van der Heyden's engraving of carnival fun, "Merrymakers in a Kitchen" of 1600 (location uncertain) sausages hang from the fireplace.[13] Due to their popularity as a dish at carnival and at parties in general, sausages acquired the connotations of gluttony and debauchery. The 15th century also saw the development of sausages as a phallic symbol. Indeed allusions to the sexual significance of sausages are present in both the art and literature of the period.[14] In Bosch's work alone, one can find several depictions of sausages in a sexual context. For instance a

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[11] Bax, Bosch, 228.

[12] Reproduced, Ibid., 256.

[13] Ibid., 184.

[14] Ibid., 229-230.

sausage hangs from the trumpet of a naked devil in the right panel of the artist's Lisbon Temptation of St Anthony (illustration 18B). In his Haywain (executed around 1500, Prado, Madrid) a nun catches hold of a sausage which is attached by a cord to the mouth of a bagpiper.[15] At one point the pipe strategically falls in front of the man's genitals. Considering therefore, the associations of the sausage in the medieval mind with gluttonous and salacious behaviour, the meat naturally became the appropriate property of the "depraved" witch.

According to the Malleus Maleficarum, the witch certainly qualified as "depraved". Inquisitors, Institor and Sprenger divulge that witches in their depravity were capable of depriving "Man of his Virile Member".[16] How witches were capable of accomplishing this feat is described in part two, chapter seven of the manual.

> First, it must in no way be believed that such members are really torn right away from the body, but that they are hidden by the devil through some prestidigitatory art so that they can be neither seen nor felt.[17]

Through this art of illusion, individual witches were thought to collect up to thirty organs. These organs would then be stored in boxes or in birds' nests.[18] The Malleus provides a remarkable story of how one man, deprived of his member, was advised by a witch to search for it in a nest. As several penises occupied the nest, he selected the largest one. The witch then told him that his choice belonged to the parish priest and was not available. This incident appears to be illustrated in a woodcut executed in 1517 by an unknown artist (illustration 19), location uncertain.[19] In the woodcut, the unfortunate

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[15] Reproduced, C. De Tolnay, Hieronymus Bosch, plate 122.

[16] Institor, Sprenger, Malleus, 118.

[17] Ibid., 119.

[18] Ibid., 121.

[19] The illustration belongs to a series of pictures illuminating Die Emeis, a collection of sermons on witchcraft delivered by Geiler Von Kaiserberg at Strasbourg in 1508 and published in 1517. Die Emeis substantiates the existence and harmful natures of witches.

victim gesticulates from a nest in the tree to a group of witches below. Behind his head, a tubular shape resembling a large sausage rests on a branch. If, as already demonstrated, the sausage and phallus were synonymous, then the sausages in Baldung's woodcut may plausibly refer to the witches' misdemeanour of extracting penises,[20] an occupation alluded to in the 1517 woodcut. Certainly one can discount Radbruch's proposal that the sausages in Baldung's witchcraft scenes are picnic supplies.[21]

Accounting for the appearance and presence of the convex mirror in "Witches' Sabbath" is a simpler task. Convex looking glasses were the standard mirrors of late medieval Europe.[22] In literary and artistic terms the mirror frequently denoted pride or vanity. On several occasions Baldung incorporated the motif into his work with precisely this symbolism in mind.[23] However in "Witches' Sabbath" the mirror functions as an instrument of witchcraft, a medium through which sorceresses foretold the future.[24]

Baldung's vision of the Sabbath owes its nightmarish quality in part to the artist's choice of medium - the recently developed chiaroscuro woodcut. The chiaroscuro woodcut (which involved the application of a coloured woodblock to a basic back and white design) was first utilized around 1506-9 by Lucas Cranach.[25] In terms of colouring, the technique produces highly evocative effects. Baldung fully exploits this aspect of the medium in "Witches' Sabbath". White highlights

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[20]The erotic nature of the sausage is further confirmed in an ink drawing (1514) by Baldung entitled "Witches' Sabbath I", (illustration 20, Louvre, Paris). Three sausages dangle from a pitchfork which is straddled by two witches. A third witch clutches one of the sausages with her right hand.

[21]Radbruch, Hans Baldungs Hexenbilder, 35.

[22]Ibid., 35.

[23]Wirth, La Jeune Fille et la Mort, figures 55, 62, 146. The convex mirrors featured in these illustrations are identical in appearance to the mirror in "Witches' Sabbath". A factor which allows one to identify the questionable foreground image in the woodcut as a convex mirror and not a hat.

[24]Radbuch, Hans Baldungs Hexenbilder, 35.

[25]Hans Baldung Grien, ed. J. Marrow, A. Shestack, 9.

interspersed with orange tinges successfully enhance the supernatural mood of the scene. Colour as a means of conveying atmosphere is also a vital ingredient in Baldung's only surviving painting of witchcraft, the Weather Witches of 1523, (illustration 21, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt). Art historians Gert Von Der Osten and Horst Vey provide the following vivid commentary on Baldung's expressive use of colour in Weather Witches.

> The background is a blazing hoarding in a gamut of colour beginning with pale yellow and passing by way of sulphur-colour to orange, with red-brown and smoky-brown intermediate tones. In front there are two witches, one slender and standing, the other stout and seated on a grey goat, holding up a blackish glass vessel with a red seal. A brownish boy has a huge, flaming torch in his hand. The ground is covered with deep green growth. The vehemence of the elements is reflected in the pale, yet very substantial bodies.[26]

The theme of the witches' Sabbath occupied Baldung's imagination for several years. Four years after the execution of the woodcut, he treated the subject of the Sabbath in two pen drawings (illustrations 20 and 22). As the drawings closely resemble each other in style and content, only one need be examined in detail. The author has chosen to discuss the study entitled "Witches' Sabbath II", now housed in Albertina, Vienna (illustration 22), because it offers the opportunity to elaborate upon how witches were presumed to effect aerial transportation - an integral part of the witch mythology.

To achieve transvection, witches would apparently oil their bodies and sticks with a special ointment.

> When they want to go to the vauderie, they spread an ointment, which the Devil has given them, on a wooden stick and rub it on their palms and all over their hands also; then they put the stick between their legs and fly off over towns, woods and stretches of water, being led by the Devil himself to the place where their assembly is to be held.[27]

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[26] Osten, Vey, Painting and Sculpture, 222.

[27] Baroja, Witches, 90-91.

The above words, extracted from a speech on the crimes of the Arras witches (1460) by the 15th century French inquisitor Pierre le Broussart, could well describe the scene taking place in Baldung's drawing. Corpulent witches with delirious expressions anoint themselves and their mounts with a magic salve before soaring skywards. How the magic unguent was prepared and applied is discussed in the writings of demonologists. Ingedients considered basic to the witches' "flying ointment" were hemlock, aconite and belladonna.[28] Human flesh, preferably that of unbaptized children, was also an essential component.

> Now the following is their method of being transported. They take the unguent which, as we have said, they make at the devil's instruction from the limbs of children, particularly those they have killed before baptism, and annoint with it a chair or a broomstick; whereupon they are immediately carried up into the air, either by day or by night, and either visibly or, if they wish, invisibly.[29]

Apart from rubbing their hands and sticks with the unguent, witches smeared it between their legs to obtain more effective results. The foreground witch in Baldung's drawing appears to be engaged in precisely this activity. Judging from the frenzied movements of the remaining witches, they have already applied the ointment to their bodies and are experiencing the sensation of flying.

It is noteworthy that in their wild, emphatic gestures, Baldung's witches recall those of Altdorfer, in the latter's drawing of 1506, also entitled "Witches' Sabbath", (illustration 23, Louvre,

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[28] P. Hughes, Witchcraft (London 1952), 115-116.

[29] Institor, Sprenger, Malleus, 107.

Paris).[30] Quite possibly Baldung based his design on the 1506 drawing. Indeed several similarities exist between the two works; notably in the choice of medium and the arrangement of figures. However, where Altdorfer sets the witches' cavalcade in a wooded landscape, Baldung dispenses with landscape detail to concentrate on the movements and shapes of figures. In "Witches' Sabbath II", voluptuous bodies, plastic and actualized, dominate the picture space.

Clearly an overriding concern of Baldung was the representation of the female nude. The truth of this statement becomes apparent on examination of a third drawing of witchcraft by his hand - the "Three Witches" of 1514 (illustration 24, Albertina, Vienna). In the "Three Witches", all extraneous detail has vanished. Noticeably absent are the instruments and appendages of witchcraft which liberally decorated his other renderings of diabolism. Also omitted is the murky landscape reflective of unhallowed goings on. Indeed, Baldung makes no attempt to place his witches in a recognizable setting or even to set them in a landscape at all. The area around the group is totally bare. Instead, he focuses upon the forms of three naked witches. Baldung's figure types, robust and tactile, were partly inspired by Dürer's plastic treatment of the naked body. However, Baldung's nudes are uniquely his own. His "sensual" handling of the human form is quite different from Dürer's "intellectual" approach to the subject. Although Baldung's figures lack the precision and anatomical exactitude of Dürer's detailed nudes, the former are unrivalled in their imaginative contortions.

The postures of the three women in "Three Witches" are not only imaginative but also erotic. One supple witch crouches

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[30] Albrecht Altdorfer (1480-1538), a German artist working in Regensburg, specialized in mysterious landscapes in which figures and scenery merge to form a coherent whole. "Witches Sabbath" is a fine example of his ability to skilfully integrate figures and landscape. The witches with their long tendril-like hair, gnarled bodies and flowing garments, seem to echo the wild vegetation around them. To my knowledge "Witches Sabbath" is the only scene of witchcraft executed by Altdorfer.

on the ground and peers through her legs, while two other witches straddle her bent form. Through their interlocking forms a triangle of twisted flesh takes shape. This triangular composition, culminating in a bowl of fire, effectively communicates the preliminary stages of the witches' flight. Such an observation is reinforced given the gradual rising motion of forms and the placing of the central witch's hand over her genitals, (perhaps to apply the "flying ointment"). What the author proposes is that the paphian poses of Baldung's sorceresses are not merely decorative but carry a meaning within the context of contemporary witch beliefs.

A case in point is the stooped figure of the foreground witch. To the uninitiated, her intricate pose may appear little more than the creation of an active, fertile imagination. Yet on learning that a method of worshipping the Devil in the late Middle Ages was to kiss his backside, her peculiar stance becomes more meaningful. Possibly the witch's figural arrangement alludes to the practice of the "obscene kiss".[31] Considering that the Devil's posterior was reputed on occasion to contain a face, the above interpretation is quite feasible.[31] At this juncture mention should be made of an

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[31] One of the earliest references to the "osculum infame" is found in a treatise of the early 15th century entitled Errores Valdensium.[A] In the text the heretical sect the Waldensians are accused of kissing the hindquarters of a devil who appears in feline form.[B] This act of obeisance is illustrated in the frontispiece to the French translation of another 15th century tract attacking the Waldensians - the Tractatus Contra Sectum Valdensium (c.1460) written by Johannes Tinctoris (1436-1511), illustration 25, *Cabinet des manuscripts, fonds, francais,* 961 Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris). Curiously enough, Institor and Sprenger do not mention the "obscene kiss" in the Malleus. Later theorists also neglected this aspect of the witches' ritual in their writings. However, in the witch trials, the *osculum infame* received greater coverage.

A. Russell, Witchcraft, 219.

B. The Waldensians (known as *Vaudois* in French) were in fact a religious group who sought reform within the Christian church. Unfortunately, their good intentions were perceived by the orthodox as a sinister threat to established beliefs. Over a period of time, certainly by the 15th century, Waldensians and witches were considered equally dangerous in the eyes of staunch Roman Catholics. Waldensians then

old German superstition which may also account for the position of the sorceress. The belief, taken from a handbook of German superstitions published in Germany in 1488, is as follows:

> *Die sich bückende junge Hexe shaut, dabei mit blit zenden Auger zwischen ihren Beinen hindurch. Auf Solche Weise erblickt man nach abergläubischer Vorstellung den Teufel.*[33]

In accordance with the superstition, is Baldung's witch peering through her legs to see if she can spy the Devil? Or by her actions is she making a reference to the "obscene kiss"?[34] Both are applicable. Baldung's conception of the witch, much like Dürer's, evolved from a variety of different sources with the result that one image communicates several ideas and meanings simultaneously. Even the hair of the squatting witch and that of her accomplices possesses a significance which transcends mere decorative fancy. Inquisitors believed a witch's power was concentrated in her hair.[35] Hence witches' heads were frequently shaved before the trial commenced.[36] In "Three Witches", Baldung conveys the magical properties of hair by allowing their tresses to echo the movements of the flames billowing from the pot.

A final intriguing comment on this drawing is that it was designed as a New Year's card for a clergyman.[37] The inscription *der Cor Capen*

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became confused with witches to the point where witches were labelled *vaudois* (Tinctoris used this term to describe a witch in his Tractatus) and *aller en vauderie* meant to go to a witch's gathering.

[32] A. Kors, E. Peters, Witchcraft in Europe 1100-1700. A Documentary History (London 1973), 155.

[33] Radbruch, Hans Baldung's Hexenbilder, 44. Translation: The young witch is looking on with flashing eyes, from between her legs. In this manner one can see the devil.

[34] Equally one can ask these questions of the devilish man who is carried through the sky in a boat, in the top left panel of Bosch's Temptation of St. Anthony altarpiece (Reproduced, Gibson, Bosch, pl.125). He too peers through his legs in a similar manner to that of Baldung's witch.

[35] G. Hartlaub, Hans Baldung Grien Hexenbilder, (Stuttgart 1961), 16.

[36] Ibid., 16.

[37] Hans Baldung Grien, ed. Marrow, Shestack, 31.

ein Gut Jar", situated to the right of Baldung's monogram confirms this statement. Why Baldung was able to send his "Three Witches" to a cleric as a New Year's greeting without fear of admonition is a fascinating question and one which will be discussed in the concluding paragraphs of this thesis.

Baldung maintained an interest in witchcraft throughout his life. As a final testimony to the subject, he executed "Bewitched Groom" one year before he died (illustration 26, Cleveland Museum of Art). The scene presented in the woodcut of 1544 is quite unlike anything previously produced either by the artist or, for that matter, by his contemporaries and predecessors. A groom lies prostrate on the floor of a stable. The tools of his trade, the pitchfork and currycomb, are still clasped in his hands. Behind the groom's fallen form stands a horse with glaring eyes. To the right of the stableman an ugly hag, with one flaccid breast showing, brandishes a torch through one opening in the side. What is the meaning of this compelling spectacle? Since no written records are available to provide an answer to this question, one must sift through the "visual clues"[38] provided by the artist in an attempt to determine the woodcut's underlying theme.

The first "visual clue", the old beldame, commands our attention as the most active figure in the composition. Scholars, for example Hartlaub, Radbruch and Hults-Boudreau, invariably describe her as a witch and suggest her magic powers are responsible for the unconscious state of the groom.[38] That the hag is a witch is almost certain. One can make this assumption on the grounds of her appearance and occupation. Witches, it will be remembered, were notorious for their unrestrained sexual appetites. Baldung's crone with her naked bosom is a perfect symbol of unbridled lust. The only other women in 16th century Flemish and German art who are depicted with one bare breast and hair contained in a scarf were procuresses.[40] Accusations against

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[38] Ibid., 273.

[39] Few scholars however (Hartlaub, Radbruch and Hults-Boudreau included), give reasons for identifying this woman as a witch.

[40] Hans Baldung Grien, ed. Marrow, Shestack, 279. Examples cited in support of this observation are the bordello scenes of Hans Von Aachen (1552-1616) and Jan Saunders Van Hemessen (1504-1566).

the witch also included fire raising.[41] The flames from the hag's torch in Baldung's woodcut leap dangerously close to the rafters.

If the beldame is a witch as appears to be the case, what devious spell has she cast upon the groom? Did she bewitch the stable man as he groomed the horse or did she becharm the animal to kick his master? A stable would not be an unusual place to find a witch judging from the manuals. Horses, similar to cattle, were considered favourite targets of malevolent witches.

> And with regard to the manner where-by witches kill animals and cattle, it should be said that they act very much as they do in the case of men. They can bewitch them by a touch and a look, or by a look only; or by placing under the threshold of the stable door, or near the place where they go to water, some charm or periapt of witchcraft.[42]

Although Baldung's witch has not killed the horse, the implications are that the animal has undergone some form of enchantment. Notice for example the horse's wide-eyed, vehement expression, its tousled mane and tail flying in an unnatural wind, not unlike the witch's hair in previous compositions. Indeed the horse may well be a witch or devil in disguise as suggested by J.A.L. in Hans Baldung Grien Prints and Drawings.[43] The latter identification is more plausible. References to the devil's art of adopting the guise of a horse are provided in the Malleus,[44] whereas examples of witches masquerading as horses are not to be found in the literature. Whatever the status of the horse, it appears to support the old sorceress's machinations. Both beast and beldame concentrate their gaze upon the senseless groom.

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[41]Kors, Peters, Witchcraft in Europe 1100-1700, 76.

[42]Institor, Sprenger, Malleus, 146.

[43]Page 265.J.A.L. (Only information given with regard to author's identity.)

[44]"And what of those magicians whom we generally call Necromancers, who are often carried through the air by devils for long distances? And sometimes they even persuade others to go with them on a horse, which is not really a horse but a devil in that form, and, as they say, thus warn their companions not to make the sign of the cross. Malleus, 104.

How exactly the stableman arrived on the floor cannot be determined. His condition is open to speculation. Is he alive, dead or in a trance? One may also question the man's identity. Before considering these issues, the author would like to make three important observations. First, the heavily built man appears to have lost his breeches. Only a cod-piece covers his naked lower half. When his figure is compared with the same in a preliminary study for the woodcut, the absence of the hostler's trousers becomes apparent. In the preparatory sketch dated 1544, he wears breeches tied at the knee illustration 27, Kunstmuseum, Basel). Secondly, the pitchfork lying underneath his thighs is identical to the instrument used by witches in their transports.[45] Thirdly, an escutcheon containing a leaping unicorn decorates the wall to the right of the horse. In general, scholars overlook the first two peculiarities but are quick to comment on the unicorn. They note that the unicorn belongs to the Baldung family coat of arms.[46] Authors such as Hults-Boudreau and Hartlaub attribute great significance to the shield and focus their understanding of the woodcut around this single "visual clue". For Hults-Boudreau and Hartlaub, the presence of the escutcheon is an indication that the groom represents Baldung, an idea reinforced by their belief that the groom and Baldung (as he appears in self-portraits) are similar facially. They therefore speculate that the woodcut was a "personal statement" by the artist,[47] an expression of Baldung' fear of succumbing to the demonic forces which had preoccupied his thoughts

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[45] See illustrations 17 and 22.

[46] L. Fischel, "Hans Baldung Grien: the Flesh and the Devil", Art News, 58 (1959), 22,

R. Koch, Eve, the Serpent and Death, (Ottawa 1974), 22.

Osten, Vey. Painting and Sculpture, 222.

[47] Hartlaub, Baldung Grien, 22-24.

L. Hults-Boudreau, Hans Baldung Grien and Albrecht Dürer: A Problem in Northern Mannerism, (Chapel Hill 1978), 136.

for so long. However as the resemblance between the groom and Baldung is visually unconvincing, the above explanation by Hults-Boudreau must remain speculation.

Equally questionable is Radbruch's theory that Baldung's woodcut represents an allegory of anger.[48] Radbruch compares Baldung's "Bewitched Groom" with a book illustration (believed to depict an allegory of anger)[49] by Hans Weiditz and observes thematic parallels between the two.[50] Actually the woodcut and book illustration have little in common, despite Radbruch's attempt to prove the contrary. In the book illustration, a witch is shown pulling the tail of a donkey who in turn discards his rider. Undaunted, Radbruch argues that the scene in Baldung's woodcut is the aftermath of a similar event, an incident in which the horse was baited by the hag's torch into kicking the groom.

Given the lack of substantial evidence to confirm the proposals of Radbruch, Hults-Boudreau and Hartlaub, I tend to favour J.A.L.'s suggestion that the subject matter is "related in some explicit way to one of the many folk tales concerning witches, horses, and demonic possession" which flourished during Baldung's lifetime.[51] A yarn worth contemplating is the following account in the Malleus of how witches possess men.

> And there is a third way of injuring the body and the inner perceptions, without taking away the reason, which is shown when witches as has been said, so inflame the minds of men with unlawful lust that they are compelled to travel long distances in the night to go to their mistresses, being too fast bound in the net of carnal desire.[52]

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[48]Radbruch, Baldung Grien, 40-41.

[49]Book illustration reproduced W. Fraenger, Hans Weiditz and Sebastian Brant (1930), 115.

[50]Radbruch, Baldung Grien, 40-41.

[51]Hans Baldung Grien, ed. T. Marrow, A. Shestack, 275.

[52]Institor, Sprenger, Malleus, 132-133.

The above passage not only accounts for the overt sexuality of the woodcut[53] but also sheds light on why the pitchfork witch's mount lies underneath the groom. Note also the word "inflame" in the text. Is Baldung's witch firing the groom's lust with her torch? However no mention is made of either the groom, horse or stable. If J.A.L.'s hunch is correct, the precise tale upon which the woodcut is based still awaits discovery.

In summary, the image of the witch in Baldung's art, as in Dürer's, evolved from the artist's creative interpretation of the writings of demonologists and doubtless popular superstitions. Guided by his fascination for, rather than abhorrence of, the topic, Baldung provides a visual narration of the more unusual practices associated with witchcraft, particularly those of a sexual nature: For example, the *osculum infame*, the internal application of a magic salve and penis extraction. His obvious enjoyment of rendering women of all ages in the throes of such sexual forays leads one to question the status of the nude in Northern Renaissance Art. At a time when Adam and Eve, the Damned and mythological persons were, strictly speaking, the only subjects permitted to be unclothed, witchcraft provided the artist with a legitimate excuse to explore the naked form in its entirety. This is a factor which might explain the freedom with which

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[53] Unquestionably the dominant theme in "Bewitched Groom" is concupiscence. The groom and hag in their undressed state are blatant symbols of carnal desire. Known also for their fleshly pursuits in 16th century Germany were the horse and unicorn. Details of their significance in a sexual capacity are discussed in the following works.

Hans Baldung Grien, ed. T. Marrow, A. Shestack, 275.

Rowland, Animals with Human Faces, 152-154.

De Vries, Dictionary of Symbols and Imagery, 260 and 482.
In Dürer's "Abduction on a Unicorn" a struggling woman is carried off by a sinewy, nude male on a unicorn. H. Wofflin, The Art of Albrecht Dürer, (London 1971), fig. 90. Baldung's personal understanding of the libidinous appetites of horses is clearly conveyed in his series of woodcuts executed in 1534, which portrays horses in a state of sexual excitement. Hans Baldung Grien, ed. Marrow, Shestack, 83, 84, 85.

Baldung presents his naked, cavorting figures and also the acceptance of his material by the church. Contemporary and later artists alike were captivated by the vitality and originality of Baldung's witchcraft pictures. Reproductions and derivative illustrations of his works thus appeared at regular intervals during his lifetime and after his death.[54]

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[54] For examples of works inspired by Baldung's prints, see C. Koch, Die Zeichnungen Hans Baldung Griens (Berlin 1941), figures A.16, A.17, A.19. Hartlaub, Hans Baldung Hexenbilder, figure 12. Helen Langdon, "Salvator Rosa in Florence 1640-49", Apollo 100A (1974), figure 14.

CHAPTER THREE

IMAGES OF WITCHCRAFT IN THE ART OF LUCAS CRANACH (1472-1553)

> Pray-thee, what's his disease?
> A very pestilent disease (my lord)
> They call it Licanthropia.
>
> What's that?
> I need a dictionary to't.
>
> I'll tell you,
> In those that are possess'd with't there ore-flowes
> Such mellencholy humour, they imagine
> Themselves to be transformed into woolves,....[1]

Lucas Cranach's[2] contribution to the iconography of witchcraft is embodied in two works, "The Werewolf",[3] a woodcut dating from approximately 1512, which explores the subject of lycanthropy, and Melancholy, a painting of 1528, which examines the relationship between mental suffering and witchcraft. Both works are highly original

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[1] The Duchess of Malfi, ed. F.L. Lucas, (London 1967), 114.

[2] Born in the Franconian town of Kronach in 1472, Lucas Cranach spent much of his career (from 1505 onwards) in Wittenberg in the service of Frederick the Wise and his successors, John the Steadfast and Frederick the Magnanimous. Most of his works are therefore decorative pieces designed to ornament his patron's palaces and castles. Recurring themes in Cranach's art are of a secular, mythological and historical nature, reflecting the taste of the Wittenberg Court. Cranach also flourished as a portrait painter. As few scenes of witchcraft were executed by Cranach during his lifetime, one can assume the topic was not popular with either his patrons or with the artist himself. Like Dürer and Baldung Grien, Cranach was a well-respected member of his community. According to surviving records, he served on the Municipal Council of Wittenberg in the 1520's and between 1537 and 1545 he became burgomaster and subsequently alderman of his home town. A His friends included prelates, feudal lords, lawyers, humanists and professors. He was also a personal friend of Martin Luther (1483-1546) and an early adherent of the Protestant cause. Cranach remained as court painter to the rulers of Saxony until his death in 1533.

A. Osten, Vey, Painting and Sculpture, 205.

[3] The term 'werewolf' was in common usage in Germany as early as 1000 A.D. A werewolf is a man transformed into a ferocious wolf.

in concept and design and add a further dimension to the pictorial repertoire of witchcraft images presented so far.

In Cranach's native town of Kronach, the woodcut was not an established artistic medium.[4] Yet as a young artist he produced a considerable number of expressive woodcuts, a result perhaps of his contact with Dürer, whose woodcuts were renowned for their power and clarity.[5] One of Cranach's most dynamic and unusual woodcuts from this early period is a work known as "The Werewolf" (illustration 28, location uncertain). The presence and appearance of two heraldic shields in the top lefthand corner of the woodcut confirm that the werewolf was produced in Cranach's workshop.[6]

There is something almost grotesquely comic about Cranach's werewolf as it crawls along, child in mouth, leaving a state of carnage behind. Various parts of the human anatomy litter the area and an anguished housewife in the distance throws up her arms in horror at the spectacle. A man and a cow look apprehensively out of the cottage while a child runs towards it. The horror and panic of the foreground scene is made all the more poignant when contrasted with the peaceful countryside in the background. The excessive number of mutilated corpses present indicates two possibilities. Either Cranach is satirizing people's belief in werewolves, or he is transmitting a genuine fear of the werewolves' ferocity. The latter suggestion is most likely. A moralizing tradition was alive both in the literature and art of the period as revealed in the writings of Sebastian Brant (1457-1521), Erasmus (1466-1536) and Dirck Coornhert (1522-1590) and in the paintings of Hieronymus Bosch (1450-1516) and Pieter Bruegel (1525-1569). Frequently targets of their biting wit were the corrupt clergy, the stupid and the avaricious. However few if any voices poured scorn on witch beliefs (of which the belief in the werewolf was one) or spoke out against the tyranny of witch

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[4] Max J. Friedlander and Jakob Rosenberg, The Paintings of Lucas Cranach, (New York 1978), 16.

[5] Although the first recorded meeting between the two artists took place in 1524 when Dürer painted Cranach's portrait, Cranach was exposed to the art of the Nuremberg master in the early 1500's through his patron, Frederick the Wise. Frederick was an admirer and collector of Dürer's work.

[6] Werner Schade, Der Malerfamilie Cranach, (Dresden 1974), 27.

hunts. Instead, each manual and illustration on the subject perpetrated the witchcraft hysteria and reinforced existing superstitions. It is not until the 18th century that opinion changed and credulity in witchcraft was exposed as ridiculous. As belief in the werewolf was gaining strength in Cranach's lifetime (attested to in the writings of demonologists and in the appearance of witch trials for lycanthropy)[7] the artist's woodcut with its exaggerated sense of the werewolf's strength probably expresses the late medieval horror of werewolfery.

Fear of lycanthropy was indeed prevalent in 16th century Europe.[8] The people of this period believed that the werewolf posed a very real threat and was not merely a legendary or folkloric character. Lycanthropy was considered an integral part of witchcraft (hence the prominence of the werewolf in the minds of men during the years of the witch pogrom). Through their conjurations, witches were believed capable of transforming men into wolves, changing a wolf into a maniacal beast and bewitching a man into thinking he was a ravaging wolf. The Malleus says,

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[7]Demonologists such as Pierre Mamor, Geiler Von Kaiserberg (whose portrait Cranach painted), Ulrich Molitor and Fra Bartolomeo Spina discuss the problems of lycanthropy in their writings. One of the best known werewolf trials took place at Poligny in 1521. Three men, Pierre Burgot, Philibert Montot and Michel Verdun were found guilty of werwolfery and executed. Shortly after the trial, the Jacobin church at Poligny was decorated with pictures illustrating the "werewolves" and the horrible crimes they supposedly committed.

M. Summers, The Werewolf, (New York 1966), 223-225.

[8]A. Masters, R. Hart-Davis, The Natural History of the Vampire, (London 1972), 31. Belief in werewolves did not suddenly erupt in the 1500's. Even the Ancient Greeks were preoccupied with this creature and stories of its bloodthirsty nature flourished from classical times onwards. The evolution of the werewolf in Europe has a long and complicated history. Cannibalism, rituals performed in animal skins and a pathological condition known today as Lycorexia may all have contributed to spawning the notion of the werewolf.

> There is incidentally a question concerning wolves, which sometimes snatch men and children out of their houses and eat them, and run about with such astuteness that by no skill or strength can they be hurt or captured. It has to be said that this sometimes has a natural cause, but is sometimes due to a glamour when it is effected by witches....
>
> As to the question whether they are true wolves, or devils appearing in that shape, we say that they are true wolves, but are possessed by devils....
>
> But in another way it may be an illusion caused by witches. For William of Paris tells of a certain man who thought that he was turned into a wolf, and at certain times went hiding among the caves. For there he went at a certain time, and though he remained there all the time stationary, he believed that he was a wolf which went about devouring children; and though the devil, having possessed a wolf, was really doing this, he erroneously thought that he was prowling about in his sleep. And he was for so long thus out of his senses that he was at last found lying in the wood raving....[9]

Despite the werewolf's close affinity with witchcraft and numerous tracts published on the subject throughout the 16th century, few artists chose to illustrate this diabolical creature. (Why this was the case will be discussed in the concluding paragraphs of this thesis.) Cranach's depiction of the demented werewolf is therefore a unique rendering of a previously unexplored theme. Cranach was one of the first artists to visualize the werewolf as half human, half wolf. The sprawling monster of the artist's woodcut has the appearance of a man yet his back is covered with wolf's hair.[10] In the only other surviving German illustration of a werewolf dating from the early 1500's, the creature appears in pure animal form, (illustration 29, location

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[9] Institor, Sprenger, Malleus, 65.

[10] Those suspected of being a werewolf were sometimes literally torn apart by their inquisitors who sought the presence of wolf's hair inside their victim's skin.

A. Masters, R. Hart-Davis, The Natural History of the Vampire, (London 1972), 31.

uncertain).[11] Unlike the unknown artist of the Die Emeis woodcut, Cranach chose to portray the more alarming tenet laid down in the Malleus - that a man rather than a wolf could be metamorphosed into a marauding beast through witchcraft.

"The Werewolf" stands as an isolated example of Cranach's interest in witchcraft until 1528 when he executed Melancholy, the first of a series of three similar paintings on the topic of melancholy and witchcraft. Cranach's renewed interest in witchcraft may in part be due to the close ties he formed with the protestant reformer Martin Luther.[12] Despite the academic brilliance of the theologian and his capacity for analytical criticism, he was an avid believer in witchcraft and vigorously condemned the activities of witches.[13] Given that Cranach was an admirer of Luther and a visitor to his household, it is logical to examine the subject matter of the 1528 series in the light of Luther's opinions on melancholy and the supernatural. By adopting this approach, first employed by Dieter Koepplin and Tilman Falk in their 1974 publication Lukas Cranach, a satisfactory understanding of the curious combination of images presented in this series may be attained.

Observed collectively, the three versions of Melancholy dated

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[11] The picture is taken from Die Emeis, where it accompanies a section on lycanthropy. For details of Die Emeis and its author, see page 46 of this thesis.

[12] In 1520, Luther became godfather to Anna, one of Cranach's children. Six years later in 1526, Cranach was godfather to Luther's first son, Johannes. In addition Cranach painted Luther's portrait "hundreds of times" and apparently "had Luther's name on his lips at every possible opportunity."[A]

A. E. Ruhmer, Cranach, (London 1963), 26.

[13] Luther's belief in witchcraft is documented in the following literature:
V. Ferm, Cross Currents in the Personality of Martin Luther, (Massachusetts 1972), 144-145.

The Table Talk of Martin Luther, ed. W. Hazlitt Esq. (Philadelphia), 312-313, 323.

Luther's Works. Volume 54. Table talk, ed. T. Tappert, (Philadelphia 1967), 188.

1528,[14] 1532[15] and 1533,[16] (illustrations 30-32) share the same essential components. All three pictures include the winged, richly attired woman in contemporary dress who whittles a stick, the playful group of putti who advance through the sky in a black cloud. The witches' progression from outside the window in the 1528 painting to occupying a large section of the interior in the 1533 version suggests the series can be viewed in sequence. Within the series, the appearance and actions of the central characters vary slightly. Least subject to variation is the dominant personality of the three panels - the seated woman identified as "Melancholia". Her identity is confirmed in the paintings of 1528 and 1533 which bear the inscription "Melancholia". Moreover, Cranach's "Melancholia" resembles Dürer's depiction of the same in the latter's engraving of 1514.[17] In both versions of Melancholy the gloomy unfortunate is in a state of apathy, surrounded by the tools and emblems of scientific study. Tools such as the compass, sphere, gimlet and chisel lie unused. Cranach's "Melancholia" is even too exhausted to eat or drink and consequently food and liquid refreshment remain untouched on the table. Traditional attributes of a melancholic temperament, the dog and purse suspended from "Melancholia's" belt, are also present in both illustrations.[18] Common to Dürer's engraving

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[14]Collection of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, London.

[15]Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Copenhagen.

[16]Private Collection, The Hague.

[17]H. Wölfflin, The Art of Albrecht Dürer, London 1971), plate 87.

[18]In medieval accounts of the melancholic he is frequently described as rich; a result of his greedy, miserly nature. Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464) maintained that the melancholic's acumen for acquiring riches was a symptom of melancholy. As a well-established symbol of wealth, the purse became a characteristic feature of a melancholic's attire. The dog (often portrayed as the companion of scholars) derives its association with a melancholic temperament chiefly from the Horapollo - a work concerned with "the mysteries of the Egyptian alphabet" and one widely read by humanists."[A]

A. R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky, F. Saxl, Saturn and Melancholy, Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art, (London 1964), 284-285, 322.

and Cranach's painting is the portrayal of "Melancholia" as winged. Dürer has been cited as the first northern artist to execute the figure of "Melancholia with wings.[19] Cranach obviously followed suit. Earlier woodcuts and miniatures of "Melancholia" invariably show a commonplace woman, with no divine appendages, asleep.[20] At her side is sometimes a dozing man. This portrayal stemmed from the medieval association of a melancholic with slothfulness.[21] In these earlier representations, "Melancholia" is seen sleeping out of sheer laziness. Dürer and Cranach however have created a different conception of "Melancholia", probably inspired by the school of thought which linked a melancholic disposition with brilliance.[23] The two master's "Melancholias" are inactive not because of sleep but because of paralysis of thought. Dürer and Cranach have replaced the sluggish female of medieval pictures with a virtuous and intelligent being, thereby elevating melancholy to the level of a symbol which combines the "abstract notion and the concrete image".[23] The similarities between Dürer's engraving and Cranach's paintings end at this point. The cause of the two women's disabling condition evolves from different sources.[24] Cranach's "Melancholia" appears to be suffering from a malaise brought about by witchcraft, the work of the swarm of witches pictured in the background.

Luther, prone to melancholic bouts himself, pontificated at length on the devilish origins of the affliction.

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[19]Ibid., 306.

[20]Panofsky, Dürer, 160.

[21]Ibid., 160.

[22]Klibansky, et al, Saturn and Melancholy, 67.

[23]Ibid., 306.

[24]The complexities inherent in Dürer's "Melancholy", which bear little relation to Cranach's rendering of the subject, are discussed in detail in Panofsky, Dürer, 156-171.

> In cases of melancholy and sickness, I conclude it is merely the work of the devil. For God makes us not melancholy, nor affrights nor kills us, for He is God of the living.[25]

> All heaviness of mind and melancholy come of the devil; especially these thoughts, that God is not gracious unto him:[26]

> I believe that my illnesses aren't natural but are pure sorcery.[27]

> It was asked: can good christians and God-fearing people also undergo witchcraft? Luther replied: Yes; for our bodies are always exposed to the attacks of Satan. The maladies I suffer are not natural, but devil's spells.[28]

As Luther appears to have been instrumental in popularizing the notion that melancholy is a result of witchcraft, he may have inspired Cranach's thoughts and subsequent paintings on the matter. In details like the witches' cavalcade travelling in a dark cloud, the reformer's opinions on the hiding places of devils are also recalled.

> Many devils are in woods, in waters, in wildernesses, and in dark pooly places, ready to hurt and prejudice people; some are also in the thick black clouds, which cause hail, lightenings and thunderings and poison the air, the pastures and grounds.[29]

Luther's antidote for melancholy was to eat, drink and socialize. Even thoughts of women were acceptable if they countered the affliction.[30] Thus the repast on the table, the gambolling putti and the

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[25]Hazlitt, Tabletalk, 322.

[26]Ibid., 334.

[27]Tappert, Luther's Works, 188.

[28]Hazlitt, Tabletalk, 313.

[29]Hazlitt, Tabletalk, 307.

[30]Tappert, Luther's Works, 17-18.

partridges (symbolic of lust)[31] possibly represent "Melancholia's" attempt to dispel her gloom. She may also be making a magic wand to ward off the encroaching dark forces. According to ancient belief, a stick became magical once peeled. Only then could "no spirits rest twixt wood and bark".[32] Judging from the overwhelming presence of witches in the 1533 painting, "Melancholia's" efforts were unsuccessful.

Around the period Cranach created his paintings of "Melancholia". a German artist as yet unidentified, executed a pen and ink drawing of the temperament. The drawing of about 1530-40, bears the French title *un Melancolique speculatix,* (illustration 33, *Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris*). However, the German inscription *sametkaplin* (velvet cap) which refers to the male figure's headdress, predates the French lettering and indicates that the drawing is of German origin.[33] The drawing of Melancholy is of relevance to this study because it reinforces the connection between Melancholy and the black arts. The figure of Melancholy, no longer an idealized female but a realistically portrayed man, is hunched in deep reflection. An old woman, also unidealized, accompanies him. The pair are set in a bleak landscape, suggested by the barren tree and cobweb, and are surrounded

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[31]Mantegna (1431-1506) executed a painting entitled Malancholia (now lost) which contained sixteen revelling putti.[A] Cranach might well have known the painting and adopted the idea of a large group of putti for his own version of Melancholy. It should be noted that only 15 putti are present in Cranach's painting. Bearing in mind the frequent appearance of putti in the scenes of witchcraft discussed, these impish "children" may have a role, yet to be discovered, within the context of witchcraft.

Partridges are present in the following paintings by Cranach - Adam and Eve, 1526, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London; Reclining Nymph, Private Collection, Lugano - Castagnola; Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden 1530, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. In all three illustrations, lust is an underlying theme. In a recent article by Penny Howell Jolly ("Antonello da Messina's St. Jerome in his study: An Iconographic Analysis", Art Bulletin LXV (1983), 238-253, esp.249) the lustful and devilish nature of the partridge in Renaissance thought is confirmed. The partridge may have acquired connotations of lasciviousness through the cock's behaviour of practising sodomy while the hens set. A. Klibansky et al., Saturn and Melancholy, 307.

[32]Ibid., 383.

[33]Klibansky et al., Saturn and Melancholy, 393.

by the tools of mensuration.[34] An atmosphere of apathy and gloom prevails. Witchcraft and devilment, just as in Cranach's series Melancholy, appear in this drawing to be instrumental in bringing about a melancholic state. The presence of demonic forces is suggested by the six-rayed star, a Judaic talisman,[35] adorning a piece of parchment on the ground, the owl, hedgehog and brazier held by the old woman.[36]

Similar to witchcraft works produced by Dürer and Baldung Grien, the Malleus influenced Cranach's conception of the demonic world. Cranach's rendering of the werewolf bears a strong resemblance to the marauding man/beast cited in the treatise. However, the artist's presentation of the relationship between witchcraft and melancholy was not gleaned from the Malleus but from the writings of Protestant reformer Luther. The Reformer's preoccupation with the supernatural was akin in its intensity to that exhibited by demonologists.

Cranach's interest in witchcraft was shortlived. After completing the final version of Melancholy in 1533, the subject disappeared from his canvas. Despite the paucity of Cranach's witchcraft pictures, "The Werewolf" and Melancholy I, II, and III are, in terms of their innovative iconography, landmarks in the history of the witch in art.

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[34] The barren tree, in addition to symbolizing lack of productivity may signify winter, the season linked with melancholy humour. Melancholy's plight is further highlighted by the appearance of a spider's web. In Renaissance times, a spider's web was viewed as an emblem of fruitless toil.[A]

A Ibid., 394-395.

[35] Note 9, page 44 explains why Jews, similar to witches, were suspected by the witch-hunters of being in league with the devil.

[36] Both the owl and the hedgehog have several meanings within medieval folklore. The owl was associated in general with darkness, misfortune, loneliness and wisdom. Not often featured in art, the hedgehog represented cunning and resistance in the medieval mind. It was also related to the sun because of its appearance (the spines resembled rays) and to demonic acts. If blood was found in a cow's milk, the culprit was suspected to be a hedgehog who sucked the cows while they were prostrate.[A]

[A] De Vries, Dictionary of Symbols and Imagery, 246, 353-354.

CONCLUSION

The images of witchcraft which have constituted the subject of this discussion are striking not only for their inventiveness but also for their close adherence to the writings of demonologists. One of the key sources for many of the images and ideas featured in the compositions appears to be the Malleus Maleficarum. In addition to inspiring the German artists' renderings of, for example, transvection, the witches' sabbath and lycanthropy, the Malleus successfully relayed the opinion to Dürer, Baldung Grien and Cranach that witches are essentially female.[1] In the illustrations discussed there is a preponderance of women. The Malleus in whose title the word *maleficarum* (evildoers) takes the feminine form, vehemently proclaims that women are more prone to witchcraft than men because the former are the weaker sex both morally and mentally. The following speech taken from the Malleus indicates the level of misogyny which characterized witchcraft manuals.

> What else is woman but a foe to friendship, an inescapable punishment, a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable calamity, a domestic danger, a delectable detriment, an evil of nature, painted in fair colours.... The word woman is used to mean the lust of the flesh, as it is said: I have found a woman more bitter than death, and a good woman more subject to carnal lust....Women are naturally more impressionable....They have slippery tongues, and are unable to conceal from their fellow-women those things which by evil arts they know...women are intellectually like children....She is more carnal than a man, as is clear from her many carnal abominations ....She is an imperfect animal, she always deceives....

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[1] Thomas Aquinas in the 13th century initiated the belief that women were more susceptible to witchcraft. In the 15th century, theoreticians such as Nider and Visconti reaffirmed that witches were usually female. This bias towards women was doubtless fueled by stories of Pandora, Circe, Medea and Eve -- women of guile and temptation.

Russell, Witchcraft, 279.

> Therefore a wicked woman is by her nature quicker to waver in her faith, and consequently quicker to abjure the faith, which is the root of witchcraft....Just as through the first defect in their intelligence they are more prone to abjure the faith; so their second defect of inordinate affections and passions they search for, brood over, and inflict various vengeances, either by witchcraft or some other means....Women also have weak memories; and it is a natural vice in them not to be disciplined, but to follow their own impulses without any sense of what is due....She is a liar by nature ....Let us also consider her gait, posture and habit, in which is vanitiy of vanities....To conclude. All witchcraft comes from carnal lust, which is in women insatiable.[2]

Lust, more than any other trait, is singled out by inquisitors to be the downfall of women and central to witchcraft. Lust most definitely characterizes the witches of the German masters. Their witches, whether old, ugly and disfigured as in the case of Dürer's witch depicted in his engraving of 1500-1505 (illustration 14) or young, attractive and curvaceous as exemplified in Baldung's weather witches (illustration 21), all speak of evil sensuality and carnal pursuits. It is interesting to examine the reasons why women became the target of witch-hunters, and this question has recently been probed by scholars in a variety of disciplines.[3] Certainly the majority of convicted witches were female.[4] To the 16th century artist, the fact that witches were designated female and associated with countless sexual depravities was of great significance. Artists

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[2] Institor, Sprenger, Malleus, 43-47.

[3] Psychiatric historians generally attribute the victimization of women in the witch-craze to repression of women's sexuality or mental illness in inquisitors.[A] Naturally such contentions have been exposed as undemonstable.[B] More convincing explanations have centred upon changing social and economic conditions which resulted in the placement of women in socially low positions.[C]

A. A Selesnick, The History of Psychiatry, (New York 1966).
R. Anderson, "The History of Witchcraft: A Review with Some Psychiatric Comments", American Journal of Psychiatry, 126 (1970), 1727-1735.

B. E. Midelfort, Witch-hunting.

C. Ibid. R. Kieckhefer, European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300-1500, (Berkeley 1976).

[4] T. Schoeneman, "Criticisms of the Psychopathological Interpretations of Witch Hunts. A Review", American Journal of Psychiatry, 139 (1982), 1029.

were now given licence to experiment with the female form and to create poses previously unimagined in late medieval art. Hans Baldung Grien in particular took full advantage of the new subject matter to portray nude women. The level of acceptance for such pictures is indicated by the dispatch of Baldung's "Three Witches" (illustration 24) to a cleric as a New Year's greeting card.[5]

In summary, the witchcraft pictures discussed were probably the result of a combination of the new opportunities to render with freedom the naked female and the attraction of capturing visually the sensational beliefs of the day. The above observations may also explain why few illustrations of werewolves were produced. The masculine werewolf who, according to the treatises, did little more than eat people, must have appeared much less attractive to artists than the witch with her multi-faceted appearance and diversified activities. It is unlikely that artists executed scenes of witchcraft for propaganda purposes since few if any witchcraft manuals before 1500 contain illustrations. Furthermore, the images presented do not convey a judgemental message of condemnation. There are no hideous punishments awaiting the witches as they practise their arts.

One final puzzle worthy of mention which arises from this study is why the witch appears relatively rarely in the art of the period, in proportion to the vast literature on witchcraft circulating in Western Europe in the late 15th and 16th centuries (see Appendix II). This peculiarity may in part be due to lack of patronage for scenes of witchcraft. It will be observed that, with the exception of Baldung's painting Weather Witches, the witchcraft works produced are small engravings, woodcuts and drawings. Obviously the main patrons of the arts in 16th century Germany - the Church, wealthy noblemen and merchants - were not interested in commissioning elaborate paintings of witchcraft. With the witch hysteria gaining momentum, both artist and benefactor may have felt it unwise to either execute or commission scenes of witchcraft. For instance, in 1608 in Naples,

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[5] See note 37, page 52.

a Dutch painter, Jacob Van Swanenburgh, was harassed by the Inquisition for having a painting of a Witches' Sabbath in his shop.[6] Another deterrent against executing illustrations of witchcraft was perhaps the fear that by depicting witches visually, their powers somehow increased. As intimated in the introduction, the lack of artistic models available in this subject area from which the artist could derive inspiration may also have contributed to the discrepancy. Medieval artists in general, when presented with a new text, tended to shun the opportunity to invent fresh iconographical material. They preferred to utilize existing models wherever possible. Only artists of considerable talent and imagination, like the great masters of the Northern Renaissance, Dürer, Baldung Grien and Cranach, were capable of creating iconographical prototypes. In support of this argument it should be noted that once the artistic vocabulary of witchcraft was established and belief in witches waned, macabre scenes of the occult in all media flourished. Witches were allocated a prominent place in the art of David Teniers the Younger (1610-1694), Salvator Rosa (1615-1673), Leonard de France (1735-1805) and Francisco Goya (1746-1828).[7]

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[6] H. Langdon, "Four Witchcraft Scenes by Salvador Rosa," The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art (1978), 230.

[7] Goya's treatment of the witch is particularly fascinating. Goya transcended the titillations and inquisitorial fantasies witnessed in previous renderings of witchcraft and instead utilized the figure to make satirical, didactic, humorous and personal statements.

Figure 1 Albrecht Dürer, "Incubus?," c. 1494-1495. Engraving. 195 x 120 mm, Art Institute, Chicago.

Figure 2A Albrecht Dürer, "Horseman Assailed by Death," 1497. Drawing, 241 x 159 mm, Institut Stadel, Frankfurt.

Figure 2B Albrecht Dürer, "King Death on Horseback," 1505. Drawing, 210 x 266 mm, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam.

Figure 2C Albrecht Dürer, "Death and a Woman at an Open Grave," N.D. Drawing, 163 x 145 mm, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam.

Figure 2D Albrecht Dürer, "Young Couple Threatened by Death," 1496. Engraving, 192 x 120 mm, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin West.

Figure 2E Albrecht Dürer, "Knight Death and the Devil," 1513. Engraving, 250 x 190 mm, Kupferstich-kabinett, Berlin West.

Figure 3 Anon. "Devil Embracing Witch," c. 1490, Woodcut, Location Unknown.

Figure 4A Albrecht Dürer, "Oswalt Krell," c.1499. Painting, 482 x 381 mm, Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg.

Figure 4B Albrecht Dürer, "Coat of Arms with Skull," 1503. Engraving, 220 x 156 mm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Figure 4C Albrecht Dürer, "Wild Man Supporting Coat of Arms," 1499/1510. Drawing, 218 x 141 mm, Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden.

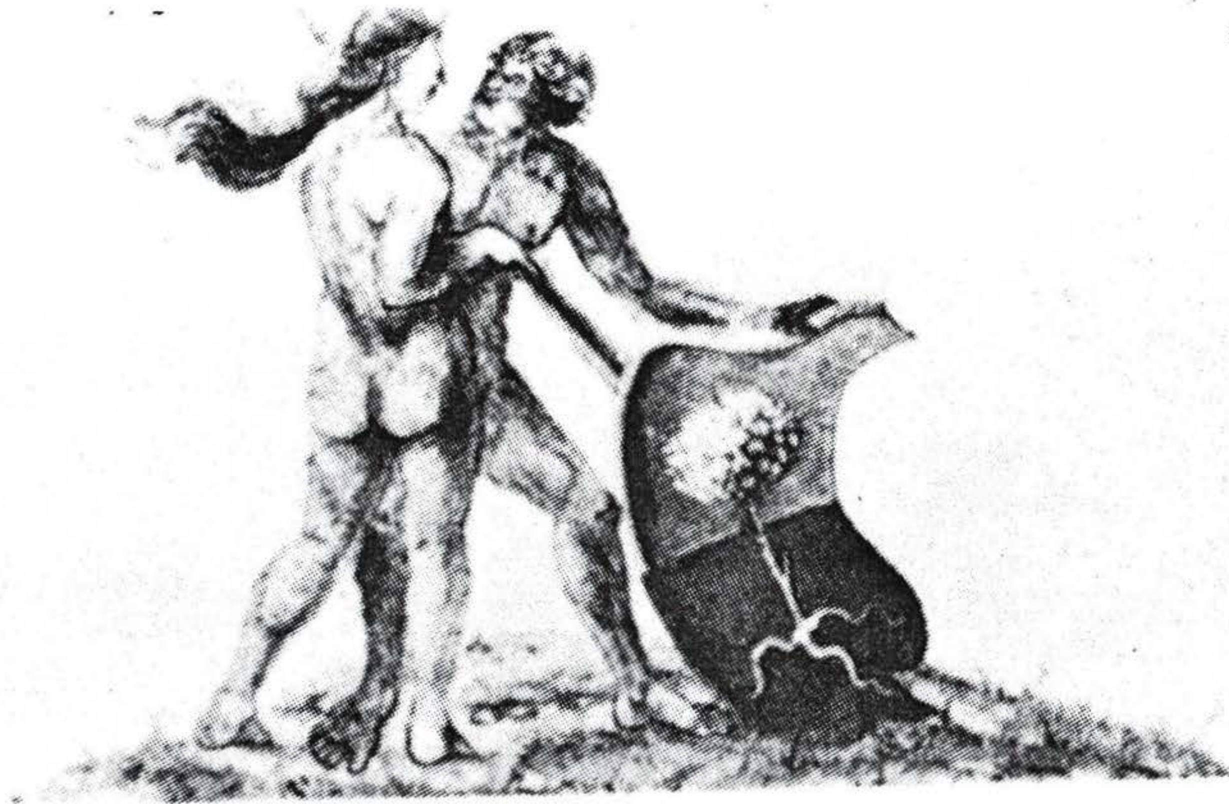

Figure 4D Albrecht Dürer, "Wild Man and Nude Woman Supporting the Coat of Arms of Willibald Pirckheimer," N.D. Miniature Decoration, Harvard College Library, Cambridge.

Figure 5A Martin Schongauer, "Wild Man with Coat of Arms," 15th Century. Engraving, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Figure 5B Anon. "Carnival Figure," 16th Century. Drawing, Stadtbibliothekm Nuremberg.

Figure 5C Pieter Bruegel, "Play of the Death of the Wild Man," 16th Century.
Woodcut, Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Figure 6 Albrecht Dürer, "Four Witches," 1497. Engraving, 194 x 136 mm, Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Figure 7 Albrecht Dürer, "Philosophy," 1502. Woodcut, 219 x 148 mm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Figure 8 Anon. "Four Seasons," 1647. Woodcut, Location Unknown.

Figure 9 Anon. "Venus and Three Graces," 1484, Location Unknown.

Figure 10 Anon. "Amor Carnalis," c. 1475. Woodcut, Warburg Institute, London.

Figure 11 Nicoletto Da Modena, "Detvr Pvlcrior," 1500. Engraving, British Museum, London.

Figure 12 Nicoletto Da Modena,"Venus," 16th Century. Engraving, British Museum, London.

Figure 13 Nicoletto Da Modena, "Pallas Athene or Minerva," 16th Century. Engraving, British Museum.

Figure 14 Albrecht Dürer, "Witch Riding Backwards on Goat," 1500. Engraving, 115 x 72 mm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 15 Anon., "Witches Transformed into Animals Flying," Late 15th Century. Woodcut, Location Unknown.

Figure 16 Hans Baldung Grien, "Young Witch and Dragon," 1515. Drawing, 295 x 207 mm, Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe.

Figure 17 Hans Baldung Grien, "Witches' Sabbath," 1510.
Woodcut, 379 x 260 mm, Private Collection, Zurich.

Figure 18 Hieronymus Bosch, "The Temptation of St. Anthony," c. 1500-1505. Painting, 1315 x 1190 mm (Centre Panel), 1315 x 530 mm (each wing), National Museum, Lisbon.

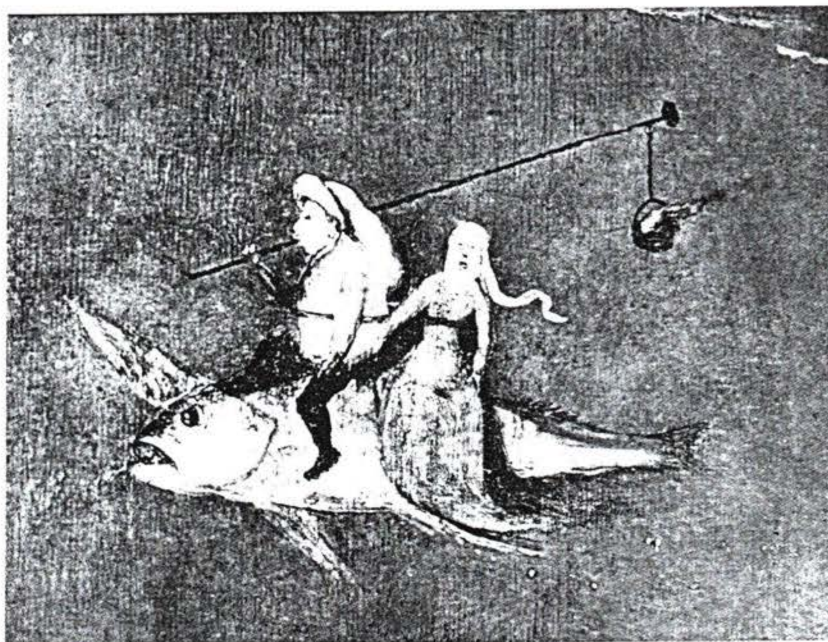

Figure 18A Hieronymus Bosch, "The Temptation of St. Anthony, Detail," c. 1500-1505. Painting, 1315 x 530 mm National Museum, Lisbon.

Figure 18B Hieronymus Bosch, "The Temptation of St. Anthony, Detail," c. 1500-1505. Painting, 1315 x 530 mm. National Museum, Lisbon.

Figure 19 Anon., Untitled, 1517. Woodcut, Location Unknown.

Figure 20 Hans Baldung Grien, "Witches' Sabbath I," 1514.
Drawing, 289 x 200 mm, Louvre, Paris.

Figure 21 Hans Baldung Grien, "Weather Witches," 1523. Painting, Städelschen Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt/Main.

Figure 22 Hans Baldung Grien, "Witches' Sabbath II," 1521. Drawing, 287 x 205 mm, Albertina, Vienna.

Figure 23 Albrecht Altdorfer, "Witches' Sabbath,: 1506.
Drawing, 179 x 124 mm, Louvre, Paris.

Figure 24 Hans Baldung Grien, "Three Witches," 1514.
Drawing, 179 x 124 mm, Louvre, Paris.

Figure 25 Anon., "*Francais 961,*" c. 1460. Manuscript Illumination, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.

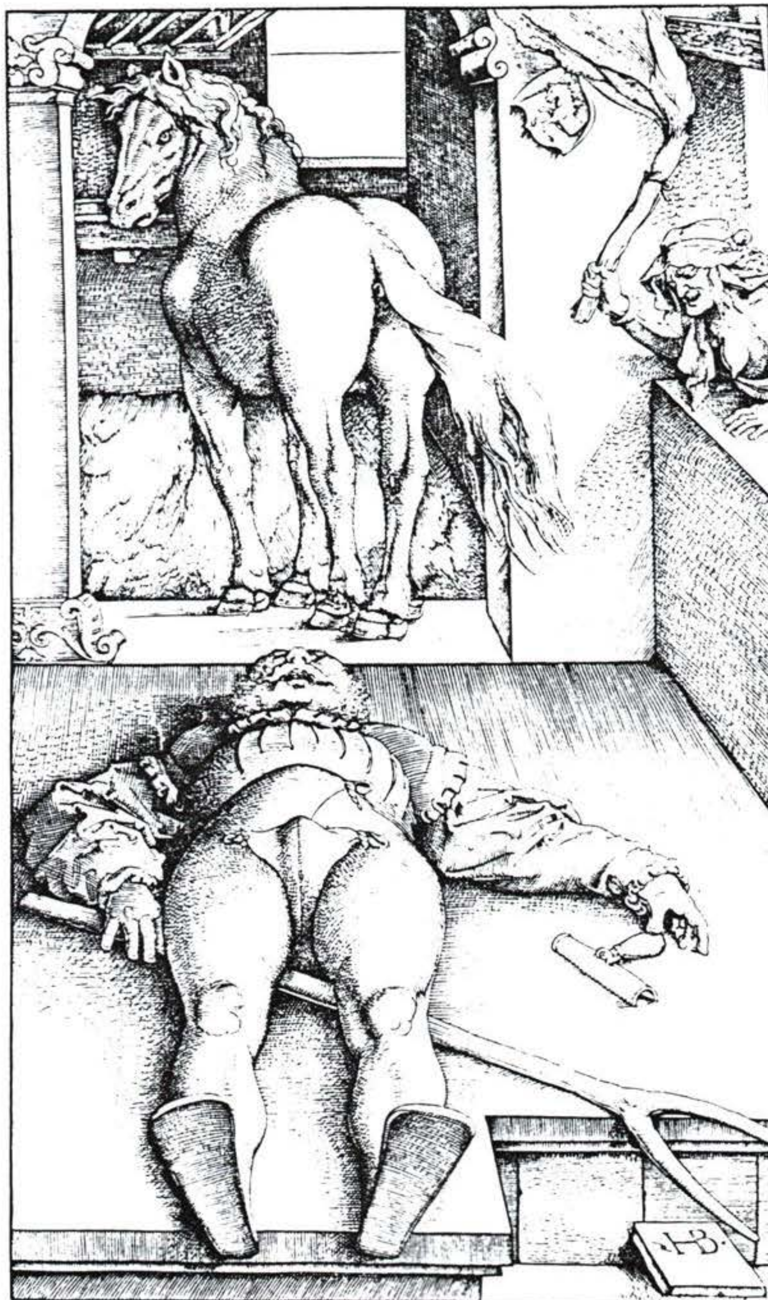

Figure 26 Hans Baldung Grien, "The Bewitched Groom," 1544.
Woodcut, 338 x 198 mm, Museum of Art, Cleveland.

Figure 27 Hans Baldung Grien, "The Bewitched Groom, Preparatory Sketch," 1544. Woodcut, 220 x 160 mm, Kunstmuseum, Basel.

Figure 28 Lucas Cranach, "The Werewolf," c. 1510/15. Woodcut, 162 x 126 mm, Kunsthalle, Hamburg.

Figure 29 Anon., "The Werewolf," c. 1500. Woodcut, Location Unknown.

Figure 30 Lucas Cranach, "Melancholy," 1528. Painting, 1125 x 20 mm, Collection of the Earl of Crawford, London.

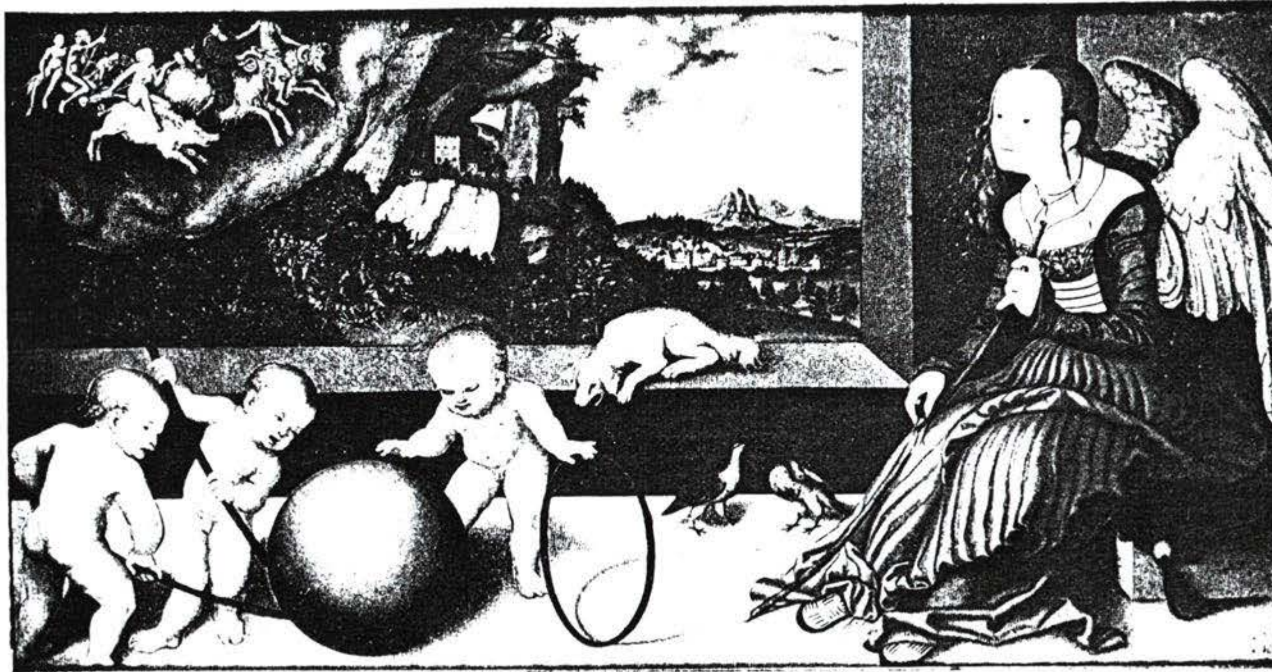

Figure 31 Lucas Cranach, "Melancholy," 1532. Painting, 510 x 970 mm, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Copenhagen.

Figure 32 Lucas Cranach, "Melancholy," 1533. Painting, 625 x 840 mm, Private Collection, The Hague.

Figure 33 Anon., "*Un Melancolique Speculatif*," 1530-1540.
Drawing, *École des Beaux-Arts, Paris*.

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APPENDIX I

MAJOR WITCH TRIALS IN GERMANY 1450 - 1550.

YEAR	PLACE	NUMBER EXECUTED	SOURCE
1476	DIERSBURG	2	H. MIDELFORT, WITCH HUNTING IN SOUTH-WESTERN GERMANY, 1562-1684 (CALIFORNIA 1972), 201.
1482-86	CONSTANCE AND RAVENSBURG	48	INSTITOR, SPRENGER, MALLEUS.
1481 - 88	METZ	39	LEA, MATERIALS, I, 254, 256.
1492 - 94	FRANKFURT-AM-MAIN	30	IBID., 257.
1506 - 10	VÖLS	9 TRIED OUTCOME NOT KNOWN	IBID., 258.
1513 - 14	DUISBURG	5	IBID., 258.
1515 - 35	STRASBOURG	"NUMEROUS" NUMBERS NOT PROVIDED	IBID., 259.
1518	BRAUWEILER	4 or 5	IBID., 259.
1521-23	WERNIGERODE	5	IBID., 259.
1522.25	DORTMUND	4	IBID., 259.
1523	HANOVER	14	IBID., 259.
1540	WITTENBERG	4	IBID., 260.

* DUE TO FRAGMENTARY RECORDS AND SCARCITY OF ARCHIVAL DATA, THIS LIST IS ONLY APPROXIMATE. IT SHOULD ALSO BE NOTED THAT THE WITCH TRIALS SHARPLY INCREASED IN NUMBER AND SEVERITY AFTER 1550.

APPENDIX 11

EARLY WRITERS ON WITCHCRAFT, 1435-1550.

DATE OF WRITING	AUTHOR	POSITION	TITLE OF BOOK	DATE, PLACE OF PUBLICATION	REMARKS
C. 1435	NIDER JOHANNES	DOMINICAN PROFESSOR AND PRIOR	FORMICARIUS	C. 1475 ? AUGSBURG	SECOND BOOK EVER PRINTED ABOUT WITCHCRAFT. NO COMMENTS ON SABBAT.
C. 1450	VINETI, JEAN	INQUISITOR AT CARCASSONE	TRACTATUS CONTRA DEMONUM INVOCATORES	-	FIRST BOOK TO IDENTIFY WITCHCRAFT AS HERESY.
C. 1450	-	INQUISITOR IN FRENCH SAVOY	ERRORES GAZARIORUM	-	IDEA OF SABBAT HIGHLY DEVELOPED.
C. 1456	HARTLIEB JOHANN	PHYSICIAN TO KING OF BAVARIA	BUCH ALLER VERBOTENEN KUNST, UNGLAUBENS UND DER ZAUBEREI	-	FIRST WORK WRITTEN IN GERMAN.
1458	JACQUIER NICHOLAS	INQUISITOR IN FRANCE AND BOHEMIA	FLAGELLUM HAERETICORUM FASCINARIORUM	1581	FIRST MAJOR DEFINITION OF WITCH-CRAFT AS NEW HERESY.
1458	ALPHONSUS DE SPINA	FRANCISCAN (CONVERTED JEW)	FORTALICIUM FIDEI	1467 STRASBOURG	FIRST BOOK EVER PRINTED ON WITCH-CRAFT.
1460	-	INQUISITOR AT LYONS	LA VAUDERYE DE LYONOIS	-	FIRST WORK WRITTEN IN FRENCH.
1460	VISCONTI, GIROLAMO	INQUISITOR, PROFESSOR, PROVINCIAL OF LOMBARDY	LAMIARUM SIVE STRIARUM OPUSCULUM	1490 MILAN	EVEN DEFENDING WITCHES IS HERESY.

DATE OF WRITING	AUTHOR	POSITION	TITLE OF BOOK	DATE, PLACE OF PUBLICATION	REMARKS
C. 1460	MARTIN DE ARLES	FRENCHMAN, PROFESSOR AND CANON IN SPAIN	TRACTATUS DE SUPERSTITIONIBUS	1517 PARIS	
C. 1462	MAMOR, PETRUS	CANON, REGENT OF UNIVERSITY OF POITIERS	FLAGELLUM MALEFICORUM	1490 LYONS	SPREAD OF WITCHCRAFT IN FRANCE DUE TO HUNDRED YEARS' WAR AND MAGIC INTRODUCED BY FOREIGNERS. SABBAT DESCRIBED.
C. 1468	VIGNATI, AMBROGIO DE	JURIST AND PROFESSOR AT PADUA, BOLOGNA, TURIN	TRACTATUS DE HAERETICIS (LECTURES)	1581	URGES CAUTION WITH ACCUSATIONS BY ACCOMPLICES.
C. 1470	JORDANES DE BERGAMO	MASTER OF THEOLOGY AT CORTONA (ITALY)	QUAESTIO DE STRIGIS	-	ACCEPTS WITCHCRAFT AS HERESY, BUT TRIES TO RECONCILE CANON EPISCOPI.
C. 1475	VINCENT, JEAN	PRIOR AT VENDÉE (FRANCE)	LIBER ADVERSUS MAGICUS ARTES	-	ACCEPTS MAGIC; REJECTS WITCHCRAFT.
-	INNOCENT VIII	POPE	BULL: "SUMMIS DESIDERANTES AFFECTIBUS"	1484 ROME PRINTED IN MALLEUS	APPOINTED SPRENGER AND KRAMER AS INQUISITORS TO INTENSIFY WITCHCRAFT TRIALS, USING TORTURE.
-	SPRENGER, JAKOB KRAMER, HEINRICH	INQUISITORS	MALLEUS MALEFICARUM	C. 1486	APPOINTED SPRENGER AND KRAMER AS INQUISITORS TO INTENSIFY WITCHCRAFT TRIALS, USING TORTURE.

AUTHOR	POSITION	TITLE OF BOOK	DATE, PLACE OF PUBLICATION	REMARKS
MOLITOR, ULRICH	PROFESSOR OF LAW UNIVERSITY OF CONSTANCE	TRACTATUS DE PYTHONICIS MULIERIBUS	1489 ? CONSTANCE	IF WITCHCRAFT IS ILLUSION, SHOULD BE PUNISHED AS IF REAL.
CHAMPIER, SYMPHORIEN	PHYSICIAN	DIALOGUS IN MAGICARUM ARTIUM DESTRUCTIONEM	C. 1500 LYONS	SABBAT A DELUSION; MALEFICIA DUE TO NATURAL CAUSES. PHYSICIANS SHOULD TREAT DELUDED. REMARKABLE ENLIGHTENMENT.
PRIERIAS, SYLVESTER	INQUISITOR IN LOMBARDY; PAPAL SPOKESMAN AGAINST LUTHER	SYLVESTRINA SUMMA	1504 BOLOGNA	INFLUENCED BY MALLEUS. DEVOTED TO EXPLAINING AWAY CANON EPISCOPI.
		DE STRIGIMAGARUM DAEMONUMQUE MIRANDIS	1521 ROME	ACCEPTS FULL-BLOWN THEORY OF WITCHCRAFT; GIVES RULES FOR TRIALS, IN WHICH CONDEMNATION IS INEVITABLE.
CASSINI, SAMUEL DE	FRANCISCAN (OPPOSED SAVONAROLA)	QUESTION DE LE STRIE	1505 ?	THE FIRST BOOK TO ATTACK THE IDENTIFICATION OF WITCHCRAFT AS HERESY, CALLING THE INQUISITORS THE HERETICS.
GEILER VON KAYSERSBERG	PRIEST	DIE EMEIS (1508)	1517 STRASBOURG	FIRST BOOK ABOUT WITCHCRAFT PRINTED IN GERMAN (COLLECTED SERMONS). ADVOCATES BURNING WHITE WITCHES AS WELL.

AUTHOR	POSITION	TITLE OF BOOK	DATE, PLACE OF PUBLICATION	REMARKS
TRITHEMIUS	ABBOT	LIBER OCTO QUESTIONUM	1508? 1515, OPPENHEIM	FOLLOWS MALLEUS. ALL TROUBLE CAUSED BY WITCHES WHO MUST BE BURNED.
		ANTIPALUS MALEFICIORUM	1508? 1555, INGOLSTADT	
BERNARD DE COMO	INQUISITOR AT COMO	DE STRIGIIS [IN LUCERNA INQUISITORUM]	(1510) 1566 MILAN	ACCEPTS FULL-BLOWN THEORY OF SABBAT AS REAL AND CORPOREAL.
TENGLER, ULRIC	LAWYER	LAYENSPIEGEL	? 1509 ? AUGSBURG	FOLLOWS MALLEUS; SECULAR COURTS SHOULD FOLLOW PROCEDURE OF INQUISITION IN WITCHCRAFT TRIALS.
ALCIATUS, ANDREAS	LAWYER AT MILAN	PARERGON JURIS	(C. 1514) 1558 BASEL	SKEPTIC: WITCHES' DELUSIONS ABOUT SABBAT CAN BE CURED BY HERBS.
POMPANAZZI, PIETRO	PROFESSOR AT PADUA	DE NATURALIUM EFFECTUUM CAUSIS	(1520) 1556 BASEL	INCLINED TO SKEPTICISM; ESCAPED PUNISHMENT BY PLEA THAT AS PHILOSOPHER HE MIGHT DOUBT, YET AS CATHOLIC HE TRULY BELIEVED EVERYTHING THE CHURCH TAUGHT.
PONZINIBIO, GIANFRANCESCO	LAWYER (? AT FLORENCE)	TRACTATUS DE LAMIIS	(C. 1520) 1563 VENICE	VERY IMPORTANT WORK, COMPLETELY OPPOSING WITCHCRAFT DELUSION AND CONDUCT OF TRIALS BY INQUISITION. ACCEPTS SIMPLE SORCERY.

AUTHOR	POSITION	TITLE OF BOOK	DATE, PLACE OF PUBLICATION	REMARKS
PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, GIANFRANCESCO	LAWYER	STRIX STREGA (ITALIAN)	?1523 1524 BOLOGNA 1555 PESCIA	FIRST BOOK ABOUT WITCHCRAFT PRINTED IN ITALIAN. ACCEPTS WITCHCRAFT DELUSION, STRESSING INCUBI.
SPINA, BARTOLOMMEO	THEOLOGIAN, MASTER OF SACRED PALACE	QUAESTIO DE STRIGIBUS	(1523) 1525 VENICE	DISCIPLE OF PRIERAS. MOST VIOLENT PROMULGATION OF EXTREME WITCHCRAFT DELUSION TO DATE. OPPOSED PONZINIBIO.
GRILLANDUS, PAULUS	PAPAL JUDGE IN WITCH TRIALS IN ROME AREA	TRACTATUS DE HERETICIS ET SORTILEGIIS	1525 1536 LYONS	MAJOR WORK TREATING IN DETAIL ALL ASPECTS OF EXTREME WITCHCRAFT DELUSION FROM VIEWPOINT OF ECCLESIASTICAL LAW.
CIRVELO, PEDRO	INQUISITOR AT SARAGOSSA	OPUS DE MAGICA SUPERSTITIONE	1521 ALCALA	
		REPROBACIÓN (SPANISH)	1539	FIRST BOOK PRINTED IN SPANISH, A CLASSIC FOR A CENTURY; RELATIVELY MODERATE.
VITORIA, FRANCISCO DE	PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF SALAMANCA	RELATIONES XII THEOLOGICAE	(1540)	INCLINED TO SKEPTICISM.

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